

fluence of *Deterding* is conducting a reckless campaign of incitement, but it cannot conceal the fact that it is experiencing some misgivings. It examines anxiously the poor economic and financial condition of Japan and comes to the conclusion that the situation is not at all simple, things might go wrong for Japan.

The *Nanking* government hopes that its hour is approaching, and it is already engaged in calculations as to which side it can sell itself at the highest price. Naturally, it will decide in favour of Japan, but before doing so finally it wishes to force up its price by making a number of pseudo pro-Soviet gestures. *Hitler Germany* is overjoyed at the turn of affairs in the Far East. The national socialist politicians hope that their dream of "space in the East" may soon come true. *Dirksen*, the German Ambassador in Tokio, has demonstratively waited upon the Japanese government. In *Pilsudski Poland* the former feelings of friendship towards France have sunk to about their lowest ebb.

Thus we see that a downright swing into position is taking place everywhere. For the moment it is proceeding in diplomatic forms, but all that is necessary is one belligerent action and this process can be transformed into military action at once.

And what attitude is the *proletariat* taking up, the masses of the workers and peasants in all countries who will have to pay for the war adventures of the bourgeoisie with blood and suffering hitherto unknown?

With heroic energy the *Japanese proletariat* is opposing the Japanese war-mongers with all possible means. It is rapidly strengthening its propaganda against the war-mongers amongst the masses of the workers and peasants, amongst the reservists and in the barracks. The illegal Communist soldiers' newspaper, "The Soldier's Friend," and the naval newspaper, "Before the Mast," are being distributed in large numbers. The central organ of the Japanese Communist Party, "Sekki," is now devoting its attention completely to the struggle against the war-mongers. The propaganda of the Communists is beginning to bear fruit in action: soldiers have begun to show signs of discontent and to put forward their demands. In places there have been refusals to obey orders. Workers and peasants have taken part in big demonstrations and in energetic strikes.

In *France*, at the first reports that the negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway had broken down and that Soviet railwaymen had been arrested, a great united front action was organised. The first big demonstration was the mass meeting in the *Saalé Bullier* on August 24, when Communist and Socialist workers vied with each other in expressing their determination to defend the Soviet Union and to fight against imperialism. The

Communist press all over the world is sounding the alarm and mobilising the broad masses of the workers. All over the world actions against the danger of war are being organised.

However, we must work still more rapidly and still more thoroughly because we are now faced with the imminent danger of war and, unless mass action sets in everywhere and with all its force, the world may once again be plunged into a fearful mass slaughter.

To-day, now, we must do what we have always promised to do; we must *really mobilise* the masses for concrete action in the factories and at the labour exchanges. We must organise the munition and transport workers for action now in order at last to stop the transport of munitions and supplies to Japan which is going on from all the industrial countries of capitalism. The Japanese war agents who are everywhere in the munition factories and in the most elegant apartments of the big hotels, must now be sought out and made aware of the hostility and anger of the working population. All Japanese embassies, consulates, etc., must now be flooded with protest resolutions. The Japanese war-mongers must be taught right now that the working masses of the world will not let themselves be hounded unresistingly into a new mass slaughter merely in order that Japanese imperialism should have the chance of carrying out its long-prepared and fantastic plans with blood and iron, with fire and poison gas.

We must drum it into world public opinion again and again that it is not only a question of the Soviet Union, not only a question of Japan attempting to destroy this hope and pride of the international working class. The Japanese war-mongers will set the whole world ablaze in all corners if they have their way. The flames of war which the Japanese imperialists are contemplating kindling will sweep over the whole world and all the peoples will be drawn into the slaughter. The workers of the world, and not only the workers, will be a target for the bullets, the shells, the bombs and the poison gas. Not only at the front, but also in the towns miles away from the actual scene of military operations, men, women and children, old and young, indiscriminately will be slaughtered.

Even if this time the Japanese war-mongers do not go the whole length of their criminal plans, even if this time once again war is prevented at the last moment, we must act and act now. For years the Japanese war-mongers have held the lighted torch in their hands. Sooner or later they will plunge it into the powder barrel unless it is knocked out of their hands.

We must act now and act effectively! The warning signal in the Far East is a warning at the last moment!

America and the New Stage of the World Crisis

By R. Palme Dutt

The sharp set-back which has set in to the loudly heralded "recovery" throughout the capitalist world is revealing itself most powerfully in the centre of world capitalism, in the United States. The collapse of all the original Roosevelt promises, the renewed fall in industrial activity and menace of famine conditions in the winter, the dissatisfaction of the big capitalists, and the rising mass revolt and strike movement, are all leading to a reorganisation of the Roosevelt regime, in proportion as it is losing its mass basis, still more especially to the Right, to a new stage in the advance to fascism and war. The same type of transformation which revealed itself in the Hitler regime through June 30 and August 19 is developing in correspondingly different forms in the "American experiment." This in its turn is likely to have heavy repercussions on the world situation.

The New York "Annalist" Index of Business Activity, which stood in May at 80.2, fell in June to 77.0 and in July to 72.4. The Bureau of Labour Statistics Index of Factory Employment, even after allowing for seasonal fluctuations, fell from 81.5 in June to 79.6 in July; the Index in Payrolls fell from 65.3 in June to 63.0 in July. The Federal Reserve Board Index of Industrial Production fell from 86 in May to 84 in June (against 91 in June, 1933), of factory employment from 82 in May to 81 in June, of factory payrolls from 67 in May to 65 in June, and of department store sales from 77 in May to 73 in June. The Secretary of Labour, Miss Frances Perkins, recently stated that during June and July there was a decline in employment of 359,000, and of 10,460,000 dollars in weekly wage payments. "Sentiment is extremely de-

pressed," writes the "Economist" United States correspondent (18-8-34); "the sharp severity of the slump in productive activity since June is now generally recognised." The President of the American Federation of Labour, William Green, is reported to have come out with the typically empty, bombastic utterance—but significant enough of the social fascist role of safety valve to the rising mass indignation:—

"Will it be necessary for society to take over the means of production? Will the government be forced to invite the eager and willing workers to march into the idle shops? . . . These are questions which industry must ponder now before it is too late. The crisis is on us."

Still more powerful are the effects on the agricultural situation of the drought coming on top of the A.A.A. restriction measures. Alongside the ruin and starvation conditions of millions of small farmers and their families, the grain crops this year reveal a drop of something like 50 per cent. below the normal level, as the following table shows:—

U.S. Grain Crops in million bushels

	Average 1927	Estimate Aug. 1, 1934
Wheat	886	491
Maize	2,516	1,607
Oats	1,187	545
Barley	270	119

The prospect of actual famine conditions in the winter, as a consequence of this extreme shortage of foodstuffs, is now being

seriously discussed by American economists—a grim commentary on the Roosevelt restriction policy. The economist, Dr. C. W. Burkett, has calculated in a series of articles in the New York "Annalist" that even the record 1929 level of output of foodstuffs was in reality insufficient to provide an adequate and balanced diet for the entire population; as a consequence of the present shortage, he prophesies:—

"Food prices will soon be soaring so high that consumption will be thwarted, because the consuming public cannot pay the costs. All meats during the coming months will be higher than they have been for years, breadstuffs will go up, and, because of less grain and other provender, the milk, butter and egg markets will approach war-time prices."

The government spokesmen endeavour to deny this prospect; but the A.A.A. Administrator, Chester B. Davis, recently revealed in a speech at Great Falls that the government has been carrying through a secret census of food supplies in view of the tremendous destruction of crops by the Roosevelt acreage-reduction programme and the record drought.

At the same time, unemployment remains over ten millions, according to the figures of the pro-governmental American Federation of Labour. The Benjamin Franklin Institute, a statistical organisation, estimates the actual total at twelve millions. The workers who are in employment are on lower real wages owing to the combined effect of short time and higher prices.

This situation has already led to a widespread **disillusionment with the Roosevelt regime**—alike on the part of the workers, the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie.

The revolt of the workers is reflected in the gigantic and still rising strike movement, which in the case of the Pacific Coast General Strike reached close to conditions of civil war.

The discontent of the petty bourgeoisie is reflected in the ever-rising volume of protest against the N.R.A., as representing the tyranny of the big trusts at the expense of small business. This found its significant expression in the Darrow Report; although the National Recovery Review Board was directly appointed by Roosevelt, its report fully voiced the petit-bourgeois criticism of N.R.A. as the Magna Charta of Monopoly. The issue of the Darrow Report revealed the growing cleavage between the Roosevelt regime and its former mass petty-bourgeois support.

On the other side, the big capitalists express their dissatisfaction with the Roosevelt regime, since, in face of the rising mass revolt, they now demand stronger and harsher forms of dictatorship and the final dropping of the remnants of the social-liberal trappings.

It is in this situation that there takes place the widely discussed "**Reorganisation of N.R.A.**" The details of this reorganisation are still under negotiation. But it is already evident that this reorganisation means the **strengthening of the dictatorship of finance-capital.**

The economic apparatus of domination of finance-capital was already enormously advanced by the Recovery programme and the original Codes. The obsolete anti-trust legislation was swept away in favour of statutory monopoly control in every industry. As the "Annalist" already wrote on March 13, 1934:—

"The large aggregates of financial capital stand to benefit in the long run from the new regime—the elimination of competitive methods, closer welding together of private banking with the governmental financial apparatus, the increase of control and co-ordination—all are elements of strength of the future of financial capitalism."

But the corresponding political intensification of dictatorship requires no less developing. The social-liberal demagoguery of the early stages of the Roosevelt regime aroused enormous hopes in wide masses of the workers and of the petty bourgeoisie. The bitter disappointment of these hopes, and worsening of economic conditions, leads to a widespread movement of revolt. To counter this requires increasingly fascist methods of repression. **It is to these increasingly fascist methods that American finance-capital is now advancing.**

The repression of the Pacific Coast General Strike already revealed this advance to increasingly fascist methods. This was expressed, not only in the organisation of military forces against the strikers, the calling out of the National Guards, and the use

of tanks and poison-gas, but in the open reign of class-terror established through the law courts, and in the organisation of hoodligan bands to raid, burn and destroy wholesale in all militant headquarters, and attack with lawless violence all militant leaders.

The formation of the **American Liberty League**, led by prominent representatives of both the Democratic and Republican Parties, "to combat radicalism, preserve the rights of property and uphold the Constitution, marks a further stage in the same process.

"The newly formed 'American Liberty League' is welcomed in Wall Street. Before its formation conferences were held with leaders in the financial world." (London "Times," 25-8.34.)

But this advance to increasingly fascist forms in America is closely associated with the advance to war in the world situation. This process is closely parallel to the corresponding, though varying, processes in Britain, Germany and Japan.

The Wallace pamphlet ("America Must Choose," by the Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace), already at the beginning of the year made clear that the real economic objective of the Recovery programme must inevitably be directed, not to isolationism, but to intensified internal organisation as a means to intensified conflict for a larger share in the world market. Already American exports have been forced up to a nominal value of 30 million pounds in June, 1934, as against 26 million pounds monthly in 1932.

But the conflict between American and British capitalism and also between American and Japanese capitalism is intense.

The battle between the dollar and the pound continues in full force, and threatens further moves in depreciation. The attempted negotiations for stabilisation between Harrison and Montagu Norman at Basle ended in breakdown. The British insisted on making stabilisation dependent on a War Debts agreement, the question of the stability of the gold bloc and the consequences of the German default; and the negotiations ended without result.

The British-American economic conflict has been further reflected over the German default. The separate British-German Debts agreement for the temporary settlement of the British share of the Dawes and Young Loans, while leaving the creditors of other countries in the lurch, was roundly attacked by American financiers as a "betrayal," and was the subject of a sharp Note from the United States government.

Most strongly the rising international conflict is reflected in the breakdown of the preliminary negotiations between Britain, America and Japan for the Naval Conference. The British Admiralty presents demands for an increased navy, representing a return to the 1927 Geneva claim for 70 cruisers in place of the 50 laid down in the Treaty. Japan demands the scrapping of the Washington ratio and its replacement by parity. Lord Beatty calls on the British government to repudiate the "shackles" of international naval agreements. The Japanese Minister of Marine, Admiral **Osumi**, advocates the repudiation of the existing Limitation Treaty before the continuance of negotiations. At the preliminary conversations in July the Japanese representatives demanded the postponement of all negotiations till October; the British supported this demand; the Americans were compelled to accept it; and the negotiations stand adjourned. It is evident that Britain and Japan are working together, and that the whole future of the Naval Conference becomes increasingly doubtful.

Meanwhile, Japanese aggression goes forward in the Far East, with obvious British support, despite the intense economic differences between Britain and Japan; the sending at this moment of the Federation of British Industries Mission to Manchukuo is equivalent to semi-official British recognition of the Japanese spoliation of Manchuria, and the concerting of common plans for the next steps in the campaign. The Japanese aggression in the Far East is directed simultaneously against the Soviet Union and against the United States. The dispatch of the main portion of the United States navy in the Atlantic to the Pacific is a signal of the rising international situation.

The further development of the American situation depends, first, on the next stage in the world situation, and especially the question of the Japanese advance to war; and, second, on the further development of the inner social struggles in America which are now assuming gigantic proportions. It is evident that in America, as in Germany, the coming winter will be critical and is likely to see a sharp further stage in the development of the world crisis and of the struggle of the working class against fascism and war.

Politics

Foreign Political Review of the Week

FRANCE AND POLAND

What the Philistine petty-bourgeois says of women, namely, the best are those one doesn't speak about, might well be said of friendly alliances between the States. However, both the French and the Polish press have been talking quite a lot recently about the mutual relations of France and Poland. Every few days the official mouthpiece of the French Foreign Ministry, "Temps," publishes a leading article on the question. The truth is that the Franco-Polish alliance of friendship is showing signs of wear, so much so in fact that there are persistent rumours of a pact between Poland and Hitler Germany, according to which, in case of an armed conflict between Germany and France, Poland would pledge itself to neutrality! These rumours have been denied officially. Apparently they were hurrying a little too far ahead of facts, but even the "Temps" is compelled to admit (in an article published on August 25) that certain circles "are working to change the feelings of Poland towards France" and that "Poland is doing everything with particular pleasure which might serve the cause of a Polish-German rapprochement."

How did this sudden change in Poland's foreign policy come about? First of all it was due to the fact that after the victory of national socialism in Germany the French government adopted far too lax an attitude towards Hitler. Just because France did not generate sufficient hatred against Germany it unwittingly sowed the seed of love for Germany in the heart of Poland, a seed which is now developing rapidly. Poland was never so hostile to Germany as immediately after January 30, 1933. The Polish government felt that every new day of Hitler's rule in Germany would increase the difficulties of its own struggle to maintain its independence and possessions. In fact it appeared at first as though the whole weight of the newly-released German nationalist chauvinism was to be directed against Poland. As late as June, 1933, the fires lit in celebration of the summer solstice in Germany flared up along the whole of the Polish corridor frontier and along the Polish-Silesian frontier as a conscious and deliberate warning to Poland. The Polish government put the greatest possible pressure on the French government to bring about a preventive war against Germany, but the French government would not hear of it. Poland then turned to the Soviet Union and, after fourteen years of unbridled incitement amounting on occasions to positively hostile acts against the Soviet government, the Polish government asked for the establishment of neighbourly relations in order to have some security in its rear in case of trouble in the West. The Polish efforts in this direction were naturally successful, for the Soviet Union had in any case never harboured any hostile intentions against Poland and certainly not in the event of Poland being attacked by Germany. However, even this security on its Eastern frontiers was not sufficient to pacify Poland. It wanted measures after its own heart and from its own kind, and it was not long before it had a big stroke of luck.

Germany's foreign political isolation became more and more complete at a moment when it needed foreign political successes more than it had ever needed them before. The leader of the Third Reich decided to try his luck in Austria, but in order to do so he needed to be free of complications in the East. The secret negotiations with Poland began as early as the summer of 1933. The German accusations against Poland before the League of Nations suddenly stopped and the German defence of the "rights of national minorities" also. In November, 1933, after Germany had left the League of Nations, the Polish Ambassador was received by Hitler with great pomp and ceremony with a view to coming to an understanding, as the German press put it, "from man to man" between "two States based upon the same principle of authority." The negotiations concerned chiefly two questions. Not only the German fascists, but also their Polish brethren dreamt of "room in the East." The Polish fascists yearned for the re-establishment of that "Greater Poland" which had once existed, a Poland which should include both Lithuania and the Soviet Ukraine. Why should Germany and Poland quarrel about the skin of the bear when the pelt would be big enough to cover them both? That is, after the killing of the bear! For Germany, the fantastic dream in the East was not quite so near as the question of Austria. And as for Poland, what did it matter if Germany were temporarily en-

gaged in the South-East, perhaps even as far as the Brenner Pass? Hitler showed himself no haggler. He offered a big price. Poland was to be freed of its anxiety about its Western frontiers and the corridor for a period of ten years, for Hitler was prepared to abandon Germany's claims both to the corridor and to Polish Silesia, a concession that no republican democratic government was ever prepared to do.

In this way the German-Polish understanding was concluded on January 26, 1934, and on January 30 Hitler celebrated the understanding in his speech to the Reichstag. He concluded his speech with the words:—

"It fills us with particular pleasure that this year the national socialist government in Danzig has been able to clarify relations with its Polish neighbour. However, on the other hand, the Reich government regrets that its relations to the present Austrian government are far from satisfactory."

It was extremely interesting to observe how in this speech the connection between the German-Polish question and the Austro-German question was admitted even by the purely external juxtaposition of the two. Poland received a pair of trousers in exchange for a trousers button, and later on the trousers were to be made still more valuable by the addition of beautiful stripes down the sides, or, to put it more practically, by the agreement that the press of both countries should refrain from mutual attacks, and by the economic abandonment of Danzig to Poland. However, these beautiful trousers which Poland bought so cheaply have one disadvantage not immediately apparent, and that is that *later on Poland is to be thoroughly spanked in them by Germany*. However, for the moment Poland seems to have forgotten this, for it is strutting around proudly in the new trousers, rejecting the proposed Eastern Pact which would grant it far more security than any Polish-German agreement, and snubbing its former protector, France. This provocative attitude of Poland is particularly marked at the moment, because the Japanese provocations in the Far East revive hopes of a war on two fronts against the Soviet Union and encourage the megalomaniacal dreams of a great imperialist Poland straddled across Eastern Europe. In reality the German-Polish diplomatic game is a very dangerous one for Poland and in the long run it will be Poland which will have to stand the racket.

MUSSOLINI'S AFRICAN PLAN

Mussolini has now begun to turn his attention to colonial adventures in order to restore the damaged prestige of Italian fascism, which has suffered severely as a result of the events of June 30 and July 25, and to afford a diversion from the difficulties at home, where unemployment is on the increase, the budget deficit likewise, the balance of foreign trade increasingly unfavourable and the lira weakening and with every prospect of weakening still further as a result of the bad harvest which will compel Italy to import larger quantities of dear grain for bread. After a long pause Mussolini again delivered one of his sabre-rattling speeches and announced the complete militarisation of the Italian people as his aim. The speech was allegedly directed against Germany in the North, but in reality Mussolini's eyes are on the South and the South-East. He wants a "frontier revision" in Cyrenaica at the cost of Tunis, or in other words, at the cost of France. But what is still more important, Mussolini is anxious to secure French approval for special Italian rights in Abyssinia, or to translate this from the language of the diplomatic thieves kitchen into plain English, he is preparing an attack on Abyssinia and wishes to come to a preliminary agreement with France, which also claims certain "rights" in Abyssinia, including the harbour of Jibuti, which serves French imperialism as a coaling station on the way to Madagascar and Indo-China. The diplomatic negotiations behind the scenes have already proceeded so far that these "questions" are now receiving a certain amount of attention in the French press.

Mussolini has also written an article which he has caused to appear in the press all over the world. In this article he expresses anxiety about the future of the "white race," and uses France as an example, pointing out that at the present rate of progress France will inevitably fall into the category of a second-class State, something like Spain. That is a broad hint to French imperialism to support Italy unless it wants to become easy German booty in a few years, for Germany will soon have twice as many inhabitants as France. All this is part of the diplomatic skirmishes preliminary to Barthou's visit to Rome, which is to take place in a few weeks. Mussolini's attitude indicates that his position at home is

such that he is in urgent need of a little foreign political diversion, a nice little war.

THE PREPARATION OF THE SAAR ADVENTURE

The opening of the Saar Exhibition in Cologne and the big parade in Coblenz show how right "The Times" was when it pointed to the dangers which threaten the peace of the world in the Saar question, and how wrong it was when it expected Hitler to call a halt. Quite apart from the provocative character of the speeches made by Hitler, Goebbels and other prominent fascists, the whole affair and its treatment in the German press show that Hitler dare not risk a plebiscite in the Saar district and is not prepared to abide by the results of a plebiscite. A loss of prestige such as is likely to result from the plebiscite would do national socialism irreparable harm. The attitude of the pro-Hitler "Daily Mail" indicates that attempts are already being made to prepare international public opinion for a violent seizure of the Saar district by Germany. The Rothermere organ declares that "a storm of public anger" would sweep away any British government which dared to involve Great Britain in an armed conflict over the Saar district. Who knows how far the preparations for the Saar adventure have already developed? Perhaps agreements have already been made with Poland and Japan on the point, perhaps the rumours already mentioned at the beginning of this article that Poland has agreed to maintain neutrality in the event of an armed conflict between Germany and France, refer to Poland's attitude in the Saar question.

It is not difficult to see how all things are working together in one direction, namely, the threatening danger of a new imperialist war and a new war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

Before the Provincial and Local Elections in France

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

On October 7 the provincial and local elections will take place throughout France. Generally, these elections have only a secondary importance. But this year, without question, these elections will proceed at a much higher political level. They are the first appeal to the people since May, 1932. Serious events have taken place since then, about which the working population has something definite to say.

First of all the *sharpening of the crisis* must be mentioned, the latest development of which has destroyed all hopes of a lasting improvement worth mentioning. The general index of industrial production showed that after falling from a maximum of 144 to 92 in the middle of 1932, there was a rise in July, 1933, to 112. But there was a further fall last June to 99, i.e., for a second time below the level of 1913. The prospects for the immediate future are gloomy. The lack of orders was never so noticeable as to-day. At the moment there are 80,000 more registered unemployed than a year ago. The index of bankruptcies rises from month to month. The deflation experiment has gone bankrupt and the government have to admit that the programme recently adopted of "great works," "the cranking-up of economy" will not be carried out, for the preliminary estimates for these works come under the normal budgetary expenses which it proposes to substitute by loans.

In the countryside the crisis was never so catastrophic as to-day. The peasants, after having formerly been forced to sell their products earlier at a loss, to-day can hardly find any demand for them. There still remains round about twenty million cwt. of grain from the last harvest, with which no one knows what to do. The small peasant can only sell his grain at famine prices far below the legal price.

Further, we must mention the bankruptcy of the "Left" parties, which were victorious in May, 1932, and as a result have had to abandon all their promises. That is one of the prime causes of the *march towards fascism*, which has become clear to all since the events of last February. These events, thanks to the work of our party, have called forth a tremendous anti-fascist wave, which has embraced a broad strata of the population, who for the first time have come out on to the streets in defence of the democratic rights won from the bourgeoisie.

Further, the *war danger* has increased. The almost public abandonment of official pacifism, the repeated appeal to the power of the military apparatus, the announced project for lengthening military service, the recent adoption of an increase of war credits by three and a half milliards, the strengthening of military

preparation of the youth and the chauvinist propaganda, all these have called forth great resistance.

The electors will have to pronounce their opinion on these things in new conditions, for the old political parties are in a process of dissolution and the *signing of the pact of unity of action* between the Communist and Socialist Parties exercises a great attraction for the wavering social strata; it is bringing with it a crystallisation of the most elementary anti-capitalist tendencies, and at the same time to a coming together of the fascist organisations, which have not yet been able to create for themselves a mass basis and to concentrate their forces in the *National Front*.

For or against fascism and war! For or against the fight against growing misery! It is around these questions alone that the election fight will be waged. Finance capital is increasing its efforts to confuse or make more difficult this clear decision, by finding a "third way." By this manoeuvre it wants to snatch the troops out of the front of unity of action and to prevent the middle classes—and above all the peasantry—from joining in the anti-fascist front.

The Communist Party, which has a programme and a doctrine, whose perspectives are always being confirmed by facts, which knows where it is going, was under these circumstances the first to issue a manifesto on the elections. This made a great sensation, because it takes as its starting point the acceleration of the concentration of all those forces which are hostile to the preparation of fascism and war and wish to escape from the present situation into a better one.

The leading idea of this manifesto is to make the provincial elections a great people's demonstration against fascism and war. For this purpose the Communist Party presents a big programme of demands for all social strata which are victims of the crisis and of bourgeois governments, demands which have themselves arisen from the heart of the masses. It invites the electors to form the broadest possible block of the toilers against capitalism by agreeing to this programme and to carry it through by the organisation of the practical struggle. The party has laid down its election tactics accordingly. In the first ballot the party will put up Communist or sympathising candidates in the greatest possible number of constituencies; at least in 1,500 to 3,000. In the second ballot it will be guided by the fundamental task: the candidates of big capital and of fascism must be defeated. For this purpose, employing the Communist-Socialist pact for unity of action, it will support mutual withdrawal of Socialist and Communist candidates in favour of the candidate with the best chances of election. In so far as this working together is insufficient, it is prepared to stand aside in favour of a radical-socialist candidate on condition that the candidate expresses himself against the National Concentration and against the resolutions of the congresses of the radical-socialist party or the attitude of the radical-socialist group in Parliament which supports this policy. The Communist Party will do everything to win those members of this party who are toilers away from the influence of the leaders, who, more or less openly, are working to hand them over to fascism, whether it be by supporting the government of Doumergue or by weakening the attractive power of the united front of the toilers by forming a "Third Party."

What a tremendous gathering of forces can result on the basis of the employment of such tactics and the adoption of such a precise and popular programme of demands as that of the Communist Party! To widen the front of the anti-fascist and anti-war fight, to win the middle classes for an alliance with the proletariat: that is the chief aim which our Party puts before it in the coming elections. The campaign will also help to strengthen the *pact of unity of action*, to overcome the final resistance to it, which still stands in its way in all parts of the country and above all in the factories. It must develop the pact itself, which should not be limited to the organisation of common meetings without further perspectives.

Naturally, the Communist Party will carry on its *own propaganda* unrestricted. The manifesto declares with all clarity, that it calls the masses to the fight for the destruction of the capitalist regime, for the formation of a workers' and peasants' government. It appeals to them:—

"to declare themselves in favour of the Communist policy, which has ensured the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union and which stands in the greatest contrast to the examples of Germany and Austria, where the working class has been led by different paths to fascism."

Through its revolutionary programme the Communist Party of France will use the campaign to win new members to the Party and to create new cells. The stronger the Party is, the firmer and broader will be the unity of action. In the thousands of anti-fascist demonstrations which have taken place in France during the last six months there rings out over all the call which has become so popular: "Up with the Soviets!"

In the course of the campaign this call must penetrate still further, right into the smallest of the villages torn by the crisis.

The improvement of the unity pact in ever continuous, ever constant action, lifting it to ever higher levels, the winning of the middle classes for the anti-capitalist block, the strengthening of the Communist Party, the organising of the struggle for economic and political demands: these are the tasks of the Party in the provincial and local elections next October.

The Polish Trade Unions Threatened With State Incorporation

By J. Rada

The programmatic speech delivered by the Polish Prime Minister, Kozlovski, in a joint session of the government bloc in the two chambers on August 1 gave warning of a coming offensive against the working class from two angles: first of all, the abolition of the remnants of the social insurance scheme, and, secondly, the incorporation of the trade unions in the State apparatus.

Referring to what he termed "social burdens," the Prime Minister declared that they were "the dreams of incorrigible doctrinaires." The "unification law" passed last year, which brought various forms of social insurance under the administration of one institution and greatly cut down benefits, the Prime Minister referred to as a "stage of the proceedings already inadequate." In his speech he followed exactly the lines laid down for him at the time of his appointment as Prime Minister in an article in the organ of Polish finance-capital, "Leviathan." The article in question pointed out that the abolition of "social burdens" was by inference a part of the programme of previous Cabinets, but that the present Cabinet would put this point into practical operation. However, in order to carry out these plans of Polish finance-capital a certain amount of demagogy is necessary, and therefore the Prime Minister spoke of "the general discontent prevailing" with the activity of the social insurance institutions, and sought to identify his own aims with the interests of the insured persons. He deliberately overlooked the fact that the discontent of the insured persons—i.e., the workers—is caused by the insufficiency of the benefits provided, whilst the dissatisfaction of the "Leviathan" capitalists is caused by the fact that these benefits are, in their opinion, still too high.

The demagogy of the Prime Minister became even more flagrant and insolent when he dealt with the proposal to incorporate the trade unions in the State apparatus. This plan, he declared, was in the interests of the workers themselves.

"Without decisive State assistance the workers will never be able to obtain the form of organisation which will permit them to play the role in the State organism which devolves upon them."

He then promised measures which would "end the struggle between the trade unions, a struggle which psychically prostitutes the workers." Kozlovski's methods were carefully borrowed from Hitler and Mussolini, and his aim is obviously to create a government monopoly of fascist "trade unions" and to destroy all other forms of trade union organisation.

The increasing economic and financial difficulties in Poland and the growing wave of strikes, which no amount of prohibitions and repressive measures has been able to prevent, have compelled the Pilsudski government to seek new methods to counteract the radicalisation of the Polish working masses, and in particular of those organised in the trade unions. The "decisive State assistance" mentioned by Kozlovski is intended to rob the workers of their right to organise as they think fit, to compel them to accept State mediation and State arbitration and to turn them into helpless slaves of capitalism.

The attitude of the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party and of the reformist trade unions supports the demagogy of the Prime

Minister. The day after the speech of the Prime Minister the official organ of the Polish Socialist Party, "Robnotik," published an article in which it tried to interpret the remarks of the Prime Minister about incorporation as a threat to the existing government trade unions, although it was compelled to admit at least that, "although the speech is not an announcement of the incorporation of the trade unions along German and Italian lines, it is at least a piece of kite-flying in that direction." The article then points out that "the organs of the State can play the part of mediator between labour and capital." However, it advises the government not to attempt any direct intervention in the life of the trade unions and supports its advice by appealing to the "condemnation uttered by Kozlovski himself against any compulsion on the workers to join trade unions which are run along lines not in accordance with their opinions." The "Robnotik" thus passes the insolent demagogy of the Prime Minister to cloak his real aims as legal tender and even supports it as "a very correct consideration."

In the same number of the "Robotnik" (of August 3) the chairman of the free trade unions, Yan Kwapinski, publishes an article:—

"I really don't know who has any interest in undermining and destroying the independent trade unions. The State? No. The government? No. A government really conscious of its aims cannot lend ear to any such suggestions."

Kwapinski presents himself as a much better adviser to the government and he warns the bourgeoisie that in the government trade unions there is:—

"Literally a flood of reckless demagogy which can compare with that of the Communists at any time." Kwapinski then announces his decision:—

"To defend the Polish State, our joint home in which we all live, as we have always defended it."

With this promise Kwapinski feels that he has the right to carry on as he has always carried on, and even thinks that "the government should be proud of such activity."

To cloak the real significance of the government incorporation threat, to cloak the real motives of the bourgeoisie, to express the continued wish of the reformists to serve capitalism and the State, etc., that is the real significance of Kwapinski's remarks. He wishes to replace the fighting spirit of the masses with the hope of peacefully persuading the government. Indeed, he writes:—

"Kozlovski is an intelligent man and it will be possible to convince him."

If the capacity to be persuaded were a sign of intelligence, then the leaders of the reformist trade unions in Poland would be men of the highest intelligence. However, they will find the task of persuading and convincing the working masses somewhat more difficult.

The united front action announced by the Polish Communist Party against the attacks on the remnants of the social insurance scheme, against the threat to incorporate the trade unions, for the class unity of the trade union movement, and for the reorganisation of the trade unions into real class trade unions will find a strong echo amongst the masses of the workers who are members of the reformist trade unions. The Central Committee of the Polish C.P. addresses its proposals to the factory, local, district, and national leaderships of the trade unions and of the Socialist Party. It now remains for the reformist and socialist leaders to decide whether they will accept the united front proposals of the Communist Party or continue the fateful Leipart policy in view of their supporters.

The struggle against the attempts of the government to incorporate the trade unions into the State apparatus will develop into a struggle against the fascist dictatorship as such. It was not for nothing that the Prime Minister concluded his speech with a burst of praise for the concentration camps, declaring that "the hard regime prevailing in them and the hard labour which is so valuable to the State is the best educational means for those elements which are not adapted to the organised life of a civilised State." The Polish working class will recognise the incorporation attempts of the government as a similar "educational means," and it will fight fiercely to prevent the whole of Poland being turned into a concentration camp with a hard regime of compulsory labour "so valuable to the State."

Germany

Millions Against Hitler!

(Statement by the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany)

The Brown plebiscite swindle has become an electoral defeat of the fascist hangman regime, a review of the millions of troops of the anti-fascist fighting front. Even the most provocative election swindle, the forging of millions of No-votes into Yes-votes could not hide from all the world that the murderers and the Reichstag incendiaries had to admit that 7,500,000 votes had been cast against the Hitler regime. Every anti-fascist voter knew that with his No-vote in the election he stood with one leg in a concentration camp, that the official terror threatened him with the loss of his existence. In many cases, particularly in the villages, there was no secrecy of the ballot whatever. Millions of the people, filled with hate and indignation against the famine dictatorship, were forced, through the most extreme terror, through wicked deception, to go to the poll and vote Yes. Nevertheless, no social demagogy, no whipping up of chauvinist feelings, no forging of the testament of Hindenburg, no amnesty deception can hide the rapid weakening of the fascist regime.

In spite of the savage abuse of the voters who were hostile to Hitler, as "scoundrels," "traitors to their country," the No-votes were so overwhelming that the Fascists, under the weight of these facts, had to acknowledge that anti-fascists, with 4,288,000 No-votes, 2,390,000 protest votes—given by staying away—and a further 872,000 by spoiling their voting papers with revolutionary slogans, gave expression to their hatred. They had themselves to publish the fact that in Berlin more than a million, i.e., every third voter had declared himself against Hitler; that in Hamburg, Thaelmann's town, alone a quarter of a million voters announced their rejection of the capitalist dictatorship, against Hitler, who on the day before the election sought to capture the toilers of Hamburg by means of costly election stunts.

There is no doubt that the enemies of the sanguinary fascist regime number millions more than the 7,500,000 No-votes. There is no doubt that in a free people's election the majority of the people would have decided against the capitalist dictatorship and for the people's candidate **Ernst Thaelmann**. August 19, which was to have brought the triumph of Hitler, his "totality," is a great success for the Communist Party, for the only organised centre of class-conscious resistance to the whole capitalist regime. The call of the Communist Party for the fighting unity of the working class in alliance will all toilers, has united millions under the banner of anti-fascist opposition. The name of Thaelmann, of the leader of the imprisoned German proletariat, is alive in the hearts of millions. The name of Thaelmann has become a rousing call for the unity of our class and for proletarian resistance to the dictatorship of capital. Only thanks to the heroic, self-sacrificing fight of the best sons of the working class and its Party, the Communist Party of Germany, was it possible for this defeat to be inflicted on Hitler.

The German bourgeoisie has played a dangerous card in placing sole power in the hands of Hitler as Chancellor and President. Millions of toilers, Hitler's adherents, whose belief in the infallibility of the fascist dictatorship has been shaken, particularly since June 30, still voted this time for the dictator in the hope that he would take the whole power into his hands in order to carry through his promised programme. After August 19 they expect him to make an end of the reductions of wages and salaries, of tax extortions, of the arbitrary proceedings of reaction. These expectations will be quickly and cruelly crushed. Hitler—yesterday still honoured by these strata—to-morrow will be the most hated man in all Germany. We Communists will do everything to dispel the illusions still existing among these masses.

The peasants, who expect from Hitler help against the damage caused by the drought, the N.S.B.O. (Nazi Factory Organisation) people who demand higher wages, the middle class, who hope for reduction in taxes, the masses of the Hitler youth, who expect professional education and a career—all of them will experience in their own person that monopoly capital, Krupp and Thyssen have placed Hitler in the Presidential chair, that they must fight for their vital interests, their right to life and freedom, not with Hitler, but in the relentless fight against him in great, anti-fascist mass action.

While Hitler, with a presentiment of the growing indignation of the people at his betrayal, attempted hypocritically, in his Hamburg speech, to assert his guiltlessness for the growing misery of the masses, we Communists will gather together the working people in town and country, in factory and office, unite them and lead them to the fight with the call, filled with deadly hatred: You are guilty, the fascist dictatorship is guilty! Fascism must die if the people and its youth are to live and to breathe freely.

The results of August 19 affirm completely the estimation given by the Central Committee of our Party after June 30, that the fascist dictatorship is rapidly becoming weaker, that dissatisfaction is steadily growing, not only among the workers, but also among all the toiling masses, and that the mass basis of fascism is narrowing. The concentrated power of Hitler at the order of monopoly capitalism will give new force, both to chauvinist adventures and to the terror of fascism.

These millions who, in town and country, stand hostile and opposed to the Hitler regime, will become an irresistible force if we unite them in action for their immediate demands, against fascism and for the overthrow of the Hitler regime.

Already, on many occasions, social democratic and Communist workers, drawing in opposition N.S.B.O. people, have been successful against the Labour Laws, against the compulsory sending of unemployed and youth to work on the land. August 19 is an expression of this united fighting movement.

In the shadow of the swindle of the "election victory" by Hitler, the reactionary band of exploiters are moving forward to a more vigorous offensive of capital. The unity of action of the German working class is the rock on which this wave of attack by the exploiters and of increased fascist terror which is setting in must be broken.

Let us organise together with social democratic Catholic workers and one-time trade unionists, with the dissatisfied N.S.B.O. and S.A. people in the factories, at the Labour Exchanges, in the labour camps abroad, united actions of resistance against the "Labour Law" and Goering's slave ordinances against the youth! Against wage reductions, dismissals and short time, for increase in wages, freedom of meeting, demonstrations, the press and strikes! For the building up of broad trade union unity organisations!

The fascist system of hunger must fall if the toiling people are to live. The Communists must come to power—that must become the battle cry of the millions of our class, that must become the cry of the millions of the whole working people. For workers' power alone takes the factories from the capitalists, and gives them into the hands of the workers and employees! Workers' power takes the warehouses, the multiple stores, the banks from the capitalists, and turns these riches to the advantage of the starving, toiling people. Workers' power in alliance with all the toiling peasants takes the land from the Junkers and rich peasants, and gives it to the land workers and small peasants. Workers' power alone ensures bread and existence for the toiling people, a joyful future for the youth. Workers' power alone ensures freedom and Socialism!

Down With the "People's Court"!

"A propaganda campaign to win over the opposition," that is the latest lying slogan issued by Goebbels and Co., and it is intended to serve as a cloak for a new wave of terror.

We appeal once again to everyone: Do everything possible to expose this new lying manoeuvre and reveal the bloody reality behind the "propaganda campaign." We appeal to all committees, organisations, newspapers and intellectuals to take action immediately and to inform public opinion all over the world that the so-called amnesty proclaimed by Hitler-Goebbels and Co., has set free only the murder-commandos of June 30. What Goebbels wishes to persuade foreign public opinion is an amnesty is in reality carte blanche for a gang of bestial fascist murderers.

At the same time the latest murder-machine, which is entitled the "people's court," is working at high pressure and with ruthless brutality to finish off the enemies of fascism. The former Communist deputies in the Reichstag, Duddins, Schumann and Franz and many anti-fascist workers have already been "tried" and sentenced to two, three, and five years of hard labour.

The public is not permitted to be present at the proceedings, the indictment is not published, the defending lawyers are unknown and no witnesses for the defence are present. And these bloody farces usually last from one to two hours. And then the victims are handed over to the sadistic beasts in Papenburg and other torture hells of German fascism.

All that is exactly what we prophesied. Defend the victims of this fascist punitive court! Organise a storm of public anger against this exceptional court which deserves the hatred and loathing of all decent men and women all over the world. In the "Daily Herald" the well-known British barrister, *D. N. Pritt*, demands:—

"World public opinion must see to it that every case that comes before this 'people's court' is given the greatest possible publicity."

Maitre de Moro Giafferi, the famous French advocate, declares in the French newspapers:—

"The President of this 'people's court' is a judge who condemned a man to death for 'moral responsibility' and let him be executed, although he had pronounced the man to be innocent of the deed. This fact is enough to characterise this court. Neither the intolerance of the Middle Ages nor the summary justice of primitive peoples has ever offered the world such a picture. We must defend the victims of this court."

The Spanish jurist *Victoria Kent* has issued a passionate appeal which was published in numerous Spanish newspapers:—

"We appeal to all Spanish lawyers to join our legal commission to watch the Thaelmann proceedings and to support our struggle against the so-called 'people's court' and assist its unfortunate victims."

Clarence Darrow, the famous American defence lawyer and chairman of the New York "People's Court against the Hitler Terror," has delivered a strong speech against the "people's court" and against all other fascist courts, and demands the mobilisation of world public opinion against the Hitler terror.

The well-known Polish advocate, *Barcikowski*, announces that a number of Polish lawyers have approached the Hitler government with an offer to defend Thaelmann and other anti-fascist prisoners before the "people's court." Naturally, this offer was refused, to the great indignation of the Polish lawyers.

In Belgium, the well-known advocate *Vermeylan* has taken over the leadership of the legal counter-campaign against the fascist "people's court."

Despite the terror in their own country, over thirty Bulgarian lawyers have joined in a passionate appeal on behalf of the imprisoned anti-fascists in Hitler Germany.

A commission of twenty of the most prominent Paris advocates under the chairmanship of *Campinchi* has been working for over four months in co-operation with the International Committee for the Release of the Prisoners of Fascism to defend Thaelmann and the other victims of the fascist terror. The communiqué recently issued by this commission was published in about twenty-five French newspapers appearing in an edition of many millions.

The famous French advocate, *Henri Torrès*, has requested to be supplied with all current information concerning the work of the commission, and in his official position as Vice-President of

the Foreign Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies he has written an indignant letter of protest to Hitler against the international legal scandal which the national socialist authorities are staging against Ernst Thaelmann.

It is typical of the international indignation that both French and Spanish lawyers have expressed a desire during the court vacations, at a time when Goebbels must have thought all his legal opponenuts were concerned with nothing but their holidays, that an international legal conference should be called to co-ordinate all the efforts against Hitler fascism.

The *International Juridical Association*, which has hundreds of members in Europe and America, reports that increasing numbers of inquiries are being made for information, and that increasing numbers of protests against the fascist legal terror are coming in, as also are increasing numbers of offers to take over the defence of the accused anti-fascists before the German courts.

The *World Relief Committee* announces that particularly since the events of June 30 and the new revelations concerning the burning of the Reichstag, those lawyers who were connected with the Commission of Investigation which sat in London are coming more and more to the conclusion that a new international meeting of interested lawyers should take place.

In view of the intense indignation all over the world, indignation which has stirred up the proverbially calm legal profession, the International Committee for the Release of the Prisoners proposes to all its supporters that all forces should now be mobilised in a great campaign against the Hitler fascist "people's court" and for the organisation of a great international legal congress, a really international court, which will deliver a new and heavy blow against the fire-raisers and murderers and secure the release of Ernst Thaelmann and all the other prisoners of fascism.

The International Red Aid and the World Committee against War and Fascism have both promised to mobilise their mass support all over the world in order to support this proposed world trial of German fascism.

The recent declarations of over 5,000 prominent French intellectuals against the "people's court," the great effect produced by the passionate appeal of *Victoria Kent* in her speech at the Spanish Athenæum, the participation of numerous American intellectuals in the New York court against fascism, the conference of British members of parliament which sent a letter of protest to Hitler, the rapidly strengthening united front movement of the workers in all countries on behalf of Thaelmann, the participation of the American farmers in our action, the affiliation of the Spanish peasant and landworkers' organisation to the Thaelmann Release Committee, the legal committees of investigation at work in France, the United States, Spain, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, all these things show that a new international action would meet with tremendous support and enthusiasm all over the world.

Begin the preparatory work in all countries for the organisation of a new and real people's court against the fascist murderers!

Mobilise the millions against the new wave of fascist terror and support the anti-fascist prisoners who are threatened with death!

Demand the release of Thaelmann, Mierendorf, Ossietzky, Neubauer, Litten, Frau Beimler and Frau Steinfuerth, Annemarie Jacobs and Fanny Blank!

Down with the brown murder-machine which calls itself a people's court!

TEN YEARS' PENAL SERVITUDE FOR DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS

Berlin, August 23.

The fascist courts are taking revenge for the defeat of August 19 by a frantic intensification of terrorist sentences. The assize court here has passed sentences of unheard-of severity on ten Communist workers from the Flensburg and Holstein districts, who had conveyed over 6,000 anti-fascist leaflets from Denmark to Germany by the middle of 1934. The leading defendant, Nommensen, received a sentence of ten years' penal servitude, and the workers, Lorenzen, Juergensen, and Hoeg eight, six and five years respectively, Volkend four, Saul and With two years each. Three other defendants received sentences of 18 months' imprisonment each.

Fight for the Unity of the Labour Movement

The Rise and Fall of Austro-Marxism

By Ernst Fischer.

"Victory, Victory, Victory!" shouted gleefully the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the central organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, on April 25, 1927.

"What a magnificent party: the social democracy in Austria, the social democracy in Vienna! An iron party, an invincible party, whose firmness and determination, whose fighting capacity and energy fills every social democrat with joy and which forces admiration from the most obstinate opponents."

The day before the general elections had taken place in Austria. The social democracy had polled 1,500,000 votes, as compared with 1,300,000 millions in 1923. The votes polled by all the bourgeois parties put together exceeded the poll of the Austrian social democracy by no more than 150,000. In Vienna the social democracy polled about 700,000 votes, while all the bourgeois parties put together polled a little over 400,000 votes. But the Austrian social democracy had something more than votes behind it. Its power was tremendously greater than 1,500,000 votes. In Vienna alone 350,000 workers were members of social democratic organisations, and the social democratic trade unions had 750,000 members. The factories, the railways, the postal and telegraph services were all in the hands of the social democrats, and in the barracks the social democrats had thousands of soldier supporters. Thousands of proletarians were disciplined members of the military Republican Defence League, the famous *Schutzbund*, and all the institutions of the Vienna municipality were absolutely at the disposal of the social democratic leadership. And, finally, the masses had confidence in their party and were prepared to follow its instructions blindly. The Austrian proletariat was proud of its Social Democratic Party and had supreme confidence in it, and after the electoral success of April 25, 1927, the conscious confidence of the Austrian working class increased tremendously, and there was a general feeling that the seizure of power must now be very close.

Writing in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Otto Bauer, the leader of the Austrian social democracy, declared:

"The Christian-Social Pan-German government system is defeated. The Seipel government must go. . . . Our share of the total poll increases from election to election. In this way we are gradually winning the majority of the people and thus power."

A few days later in a mass meeting of workers he declared:

"Once or twice more and the bourgeois government of this country will come to an end. That is the real significance of the elections for us. We have turned the Vienna Town Hall into an impregnable fortress, and we have advanced our trenches in parliament by a great deal. The enemy is still entrenched. His defences will not fall to-day or to-morrow, but we know that they will fall, and they will fall not in the lives of future generations, but in our lives, and we all want to see the day."

That was the tenor of the victory celebrations, triumphant at first, and afterwards somewhat more cautious. And amongst themselves many of the statesmen of the social democracy shook their heads doubtfully:

"We have become too powerful. What are we to do with our power? We must become more modest and keep ourselves more in line with the other parties of the international."

And they prayed to God to assist the bourgeois parties in forming a government capable of carrying on. And God heard their prayers. Seipel, the head of the old government, ignored the admonitions of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and refused to resign. He took the *Landbund*, the peasants party which had previously been playing at opposition, into the government and established a coalition, a united front of the bourgeoisie. Hundreds of thousands of workers in Austria believed: "Now everything will change, for we have been victorious."

In the weeks that followed these hundreds of thousands of

workers were compelled to recognise that nothing had changed, and they began to ask themselves, "Did we really win a victory?" The parliamentary fraction of the Social Democratic Party had increased its size, but in the police stations arrested workers were still being beaten up, in the barracks soldiers were still being ill-treated by military martinets, in the factories revolutionary workers were still being dismissed, in the courts the representatives of the workers were still being convicted and sentenced, whilst the supporters of the counter-revolution were still being acquitted. As before, workers were being exploited, oppressed and shot down with impunity. Nothing had changed in Austria.

The masses of the workers began to call for the seizure of power, but the Austrian social democracy wished to avoid just this question at all costs. The social democratic leaders pointed out to the workers that only 43 per cent. of the voters had supported the social democracy and not the necessary 51 per cent., that the relation of forces in parliament was still only 9 to 10, and not yet 10.1 to 9.9. But the Austrian social democratic workers had no feelings for such fine differences and when, on July 14, three fascists who had brutally murdered a number of unarmed workers were acquitted by the capitalist courts the workers poured into the streets in masses to drive out the bourgeois government by force.

"IS THAT THE RIGHT SORT OF LANGUAGE?"

In the night of July 14 to July 15 the representatives of the workers employed in the Vienna Electricity Works arrived in the editorial offices of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. Otto Bauer did not wish to meet them and quickly left the building. Friedrich Austerlitz, the editor-in-chief of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, negotiated with them. The workers' representatives demanded a clear lead from the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*: "General Strike! Workers, on to the Streets!" Austerlitz replied by reading them the leading article he had written for the next day's issue:

"The bourgeois world is never tired of warning us against civil war, but is not this provocative fact that men who have murdered workers have been acquitted because they have murdered workers already civil war?"

"Is that the right sort of language?" asked Austerlitz. "Yes," the workers' representatives replied, "but we want more than that. We want a clear lead to action." The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* appeared the next day with Austerlitz's fiery article but without any lead.

The July 15 dawned. On this day Austro-Marxism collided with hard reality. On this day the electoral victory of April 25 was tested. The forces of the working class flung off the electoral cloak and stood in all their vital power face to face with the counter-revolution. "Is that the right sort of language?" one of the most brilliant writers of the Austrian social democracy had asked the workers an hour or two before. "Yes!" the workers' representatives had replied, and on the streets the masses erected barricades, took police stations by storm and set fire to the Palace of Justice.

"That is the right sort of language," declared the counter-revolution when the first volleys of the armed police tore into the masses of the workers. The workers fought with sticks and stones against the revolvers and rifles of the police. Out of breath and bloodstained, but filled with fierce anger and fighting spirit, workers went to the parliament buildings, where the social democratic leaders were assembled. "Give us arms!" But the social democratic leaders refused. Delegations from the soldiers in the barracks arrived asking, "Shall we come out on to the streets to help you?" But the social democratic leaders refused their assistance. The companies of the *Schutzbund* waited for their orders, but the social democratic leaders gave them none: The unarmed mass insurrection of the workers was crushed by the armed force of the police. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Seipel government was preparing for flight, and at 7 o'clock in the evening it realised with astonishment that it had been victorious.

AN ACT OF REPUBLICAN RESPONSIBILITY

In the night the social democracy proclaimed a 24-hour general strike "as a sign of protest," but it put forward no political demands. It proclaimed an indefinite strike of the railwaymen, but again without any political demands. It issued an appeal to the Schutzbund and to the working class:

"In all the districts of Vienna the members of the Schutzbund are on permanent duty. In order to strengthen its ranks persons fit for service should volunteer.

"All other comrades who are not in the service of the Schutzbund must not go to the Ring Strasse (main street in centre of Vienna, where government quarters, etc., are situated. —Ed., *Inprecorr*) or organise demonstrations in the districts."

The general strike was complete, but the Schutzbund companies were kept in their quarters. The revolutionary power of the workers was broken. On July 17 the social democratic Mayor of Vienna announced that a municipal constabulary was being drawn up, and that arrangements had been made for it to cooperate with the police. A proclamation issued by the government declared:

"The political discussions which will undoubtedly follow the events of the last few days must proceed in the proper place, namely in parliament. The government is at present negotiating with the political parties with a view to fixing a date for the calling of parliament. The government insists that parliament shall sit in complete freedom. One of the conditions necessary for this is the complete calling off of the transport strike."

On July 18th the transport strike was called off. On July 19 Otto Bauer wrote in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*:

"The gentlemen of Austria are already consoling themselves. In these terrible days they have seen proof of the discipline of the masses, of the confidence of the masses in their trade unions, and of the strength of the masses organised in their party. They are consoling themselves that we have called off the general strike unconditionally. "Unconditionally," is that not a capitulation? We will tell you what it is, gentlemen. Capitulation? Had we any need to capitulate? The strike was unbroken and unbreakable. No, we have not capitulated. What we did was to call off the strike on our own initiative without any previous agreement with the government, because we are guided by something which the political body-snatchers who would like to make capital out of Friday's blood-bath completely lack, namely, a feeling of responsibility for the fate of the working class, for the fate of the republic, for the fate of our country. . . . The calling off of the transport strike was an act of republican responsibility."

The calling off of the transport strike was in fact a new victory for the counter-revolution. The social democratic politicians in Graz and Linz, in Salzburg and Innsbruck, the clique around Karl Renner, demanded the unconditional calling off of the transport strike. They assured the leaders in Vienna that the strike could not be maintained against the fascist Heimwehr. The leaders of the social democracy in Styria threatened the Vienna leadership that unless the strike was called off immediately they would call it off themselves in Styria and came to an understanding with the Christian-Social Governor of Styria, Rintelen. The party leadership in Vienna capitulated in face of these threats. The old wive's tale of a few social democratic provincial members of parliament, who mistook the disorderly and undisciplined Heimwehr horde for serious military fighting formations, plus their own "republican responsibility," caused the leaders of the Austrian social democracy to capitulate to the government. This capitulation turned the Heimwehr, which up to that time had been without significance, into a political factor of great importance. This capitulation encouraged the bourgeoisie, which had trembled at the general strike and the fear of an armed insurrection, to go over to the offensive ruthlessly. The capitulation paralysed the revolutionary energies of the working class, sapped the confidence of the proletariat in its own power, and began the process of decay in the ranks of the Austrian social democracy.

REVOLUTION IN THE LABORATORY

In the few weeks from the victorious celebration of April 25 up to the capitulation of July 18 the whole fate of Austro-Marxism was sealed and its real character revealed. Its brilliant surface and its rotten core, its talent to draw the masses and its inability to

lead them to victory, its power in propaganda and its weakness in action were revealed. Austro-Marxism stands to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in the same relation as the homunculus,* the synthetic robot, stands to a real living human being. In the isolation of the laboratory and under glass the homunculus thrives, but outside the laboratory and in the world of reality, blinded by the light of day and shrivelled by the touch of fresh air it collapses. Every detail and every item has been carefully thought out and carried into execution, only one thing is missing, the vital spirit which can be replaced by nothing synthetic.

Austro-Marxism knew how to organise election campaigns and peaceful demonstrations with life and colour. It gave the masses a longing for a brighter and better future, but it could not stand up to the rifles of July 15, 1927, and the artillery of February 12, 1934. In every decisive situation the revolutionary homunculus fabricated in the retorts of Austro-Marxism was a failure and its reformist creators were at their wits end.

"WE ARE SO SMALL AND POOR . . ."

Under what conditions could Austro-Marxism develop? Only under the conditions of a political laboratory, under the peculiar conditions of that absurd State entity which calls itself Austria. Otto Bauer, the most prominent theoretician of Austro-Marxism, had his reasons for stressing again and again that Austria was much too small, much too weak, and much too dependent to take any part in "high politics." No decisions could be taken in little Austria: one must always shrink from taking the final consequences for fear of incurring the displeasure of the surrounding powerful States. Only in this little remnant of the great Habsburg monarchy could reformism adopt such revolutionary poses as Austro-Marxism did. Only the social democracy of a small State like Austria was spared the necessity of showing its foreign political colours. Only the Austrian social democracy could permit itself the luxury of rejecting the League of Nations, the new organisation of European imperialism, although occasionally it appealed to the League. Neither one thing nor the other made any difference to European politics. The social democracies in France and Germany were compelled to show their colours. Their attitude to the problems of European imperialism had foreign political consequences. The position of the Austrian social democracy bound it to nothing and compelled it to make no obvious concessions. In Austria the national question played a subordinate role. The *Anschluss* idea propagated by Otto Bauer was never very popular. The mass of the Austrian petty-bourgeoisie was prepared to be friends with anyone who offered foodstuffs and loans. Whether a political party sought support in Germany, France or Italy was a matter of almost complete indifference to the great majority of the Austrian people. Under the Habsburg monarchy the national feelings of the oppressed nationalities developed violently, but the national feelings of the German "ruling race" made itself felt in a few provincial towns only.

Austro-Marxism was therefore able to replace the patriotism of the other reformist parties by an innocuous local patriotism. It could proclaim the idea of the *Anschluss* and at the same time conspire with France and the Little Entente. It could proclaim its allegiance to the revolution on an international scale whilst at the same time opposing the revolution in Austria with the argument: "We are revolutionaries on principle, but little Austria cannot march in the van. The big powers will not permit us to pursue any independent policy." The more zealously the Austro-Marxist leaders stressed the insignificance and poverty of Austria the more they avoided the necessity of drawing any practical conclusions from their revolutionary phraseology.

THE HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

But still more important than the undeniable fact that Austria is a small and not a big State, still more important than the given geographical conditions were the historical conditions of the development of Austro-Marxism. The rotten and impotent Habsburg monarchy collapsed with the military defeat in the war. The army broke up into its national components. The national revolution of the Slavs developed violently. From the very beginning it was more conscious of its aim than was the beginning spontaneous proletarian revolution against the capitalist exploiters and oppressors. The ruling class of the Germans was broken up. The capitalists who resided in Vienna but whose capital was invested in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and all over the place, distributed themselves amongst the succession States. The German bureau-

* Homunculus: A miniature man produced artificially, e.g., in Goethe's "Faust."—Ed. "Inprecorr."

crats saw the State apparatus breaking up in their hands and were at their wits end and helpless in face of the general chaos. In fear and trembling the bourgeoisie awaited the undisciplined return of the defeated armies which no longer had any cohesion because the State which had held them together had disappeared over night, and with this State the ruling classes lost their old instrument of power. Without offering resistance the ruling class bowed its head to everything. **The social democracy was able to take over power without a struggle.** The soldiers of the newly-formed People's Guard obeyed the orders of the social-democracy. The arms were in the hands of the social democracy. The State was in the hands of the social democracy.

The party of Victor Adler did not seize power. The course of events placed power into its hands without a struggle. The social-democratic leaders took little or no part in these events. They did not bring the change about, but they approved it afterwards. The first man to proclaim the Austrian Republic was not even a social democrat. It was the Christian-Social Professor Anton Rintelen who later became the provincial governor of Styria. However, the collapse of the old order released the class forces of the proletariat. In 1917 the Austrian proletariat had risen in a great strike, but the social-democratic leaders throttled this strike. Once again the proletariat rose. The workers in uniform returning from the front were not satisfied with the overthrow of the Habsburgs alone. They demanded the establishment of a Soviet Republic. They elected workers' and soldiers' councils and wanted to turn the bourgeois collapse into a proletarian revolution. The waters of the proletarian revolution boiled and swirled like the mountain cataracts when the thaw begins to release the masses of snow. All that was necessary was to unite the streams into a mighty river, to give the spontaneous movement an aim and a direction. But the Austrian social democracy wanted no more than a democratic republic and feared the intervention of allied imperialism. It had no confidence in the creative power of the proletariat which had set up Soviet republics in Russia, Hungary and Bavaria. It held fast to the mechanical schedule: first of all the bourgeois revolution, and afterwards, at some time in the dim future, the proletarian revolution. It regarded world history as a sort of school curriculum in which one advanced gradually from class to class at definite intervals, in which one went first through the bourgeois revolution and only later through the proletarian revolution. According to this scheme it prevented the development of the proletarian revolution in Austria.

THE "SYSTEM OF PERSUASION"

The Austrian social democracy was in a position to employ finer and less brutal methods than those of Noske and Scheidemann. The extraordinarily favourable conditions for the proletarian revolution in Austria were utilised by the social democracy in order to prevent the workers from drawing the obvious revolutionary practical conclusions from the given revolutionary situation. "What do you actually want?" the social-democratic leaders asked the proletariat of Austria. "The bourgeoisie is powerless, therefore we do not need a dictatorship in order to hold down the bourgeoisie. We must not offend public opinion abroad. We are dependent on foreign foodstuffs. We must take care not to cause chaos. However, within the bounds of possibility we are in favour of everything which you demand. Workers' councils, soldiers' councils, socialisation commissions, all these things can be included in the fabric of the democratic republic without endangering it. That is not so important, the important thing is that we have power in our hands. The bourgeoisie must take over part of the responsibility with us. That will facilitate our task."

Later on Otto Bauer called this the "system of persuasion," and declared humorously that the "persuasion system" had ousted the Soviet system. This bad joke was an excellent characterisation of a bad policy.

The proletarian revolution did not develop and the situation went no further than the taking over of power by the social democracy without resistance.

The fact that the Austrian social democracy was able to use finer methods than Noske and Scheidemann in Germany decisively influenced the conception of Austro-Marxism. It was possible for the Austrian social democracy to speak of a bloodless revolution and to fill the heads of the Austrian workers with the dream of a painless and peaceful revolution.

"THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS."

Another circumstance must be mentioned. Thanks to special circumstances the Austrian social democracy succeeded in pre-

venting the development of a mass Communist Party and in "maintaining the unity of the working class." The declaration of martial law throughout the Habsburg monarchy in 1914 spared the Austrian social democracy the necessity of voting for the war credits and openly displaying their social patriotism as their colleagues in France and Germany had been compelled to do. The opposition put up by Friedrich Adler, and his speech before the court, won the hearts of the Austrian workers. Friedrich Adler was to the Austrian workers what Karl Liebknecht was to the German workers. The revolutionary workers of Austria regarded Friedrich Adler as their leader. Characteristic of this spirit in Austria was the fact that when the Communist Party was formed it directed a naive open letter to Friedrich Adler urging him to place himself at its head. The fact that Friedrich Adler did not abandon the party of his father, but came to an understanding with Renner and company, gave the Austrian social democracy a big moral advantage and greatly strengthened the idea of unity at all costs. **This idea of unity became one of the basic principles of Austro-Marxism.** Austria was to prove that revolutionary workers and reformist petty-bourgeois, supporters of Communism and supporters of democracy, could work together in the same party. The hazy character of the revolution in Austria reflected itself in the hazy character of a party which strove to fuse reformism with revolutionary Marxism, and which recommended this laboratory product to all other countries for emulation.

RED VIENNA

Without taking into consideration these conditions under which it developed Austro-Marxism would be unintelligible and its influence on the Austrian proletariat incredible. The Austrian Social Democratic Party had more power in its hands than any other Social Democratic Party in Europe. In all the other succession States of the old Habsburg monarchy these favourable conditions were not present. The rise of a national bourgeoisie, previously suppressed, the national antagonisms and the weakness of the proletariat, gave rise to a quite different situation in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and even Hungary. The situation in Austria was unique, and could be compared to nothing else. The Austrian social democracy shared its power with the bourgeoisie, but as a result of the concrete relations of power and, above all, as a result of the character of the new army, the People's Guard, which obeyed the social democracy and no one else, the social democracy had the upper hand in the coalition for a long while.

Naturally, this situation could not exist for ever. Capitalism, which had not been touched by the social democracy, was able to strengthen and consolidate itself once again. Saved by the policy of the social democracy, the bourgeoisie was able to build up its instruments of power once again. The exofficers and the old bureaucrats were at the disposal of the bourgeoisie. The social democracy had neither socialised the means of production and distribution nor destroyed the remnants of the old State apparatus, and these facts meant inevitably the **securing of bourgeois class dominance in the democratic republic.** Relying on the peasants who had come back from the front radicalised, but who had found no understanding for their problems at the hands of the social democracy, and relying on the mass of the petty-bourgeoisie, the big banks, the big landowners and large-scale industry ruled Austria once again. The leadership struggle ended inevitably with the victory of those men who represented the interests of capitalism most directly. However, the social democracy, ejected from the government and rapidly losing its influence on the State, at least consolidated one of the most important positions, **the municipal administration of the federal capital, Vienna.**

Vienna, the capital of the little Alpine country and the home of many millions, had a much greater proportionate strength as against the rural areas than any other capital town in Europe. The consolidation of its position in Vienna and the control of the municipal administration secured for the social democracy at least a section of the State power, and thus prevented the cracks in the body of Austro-Marxism from splitting open. Within the framework of a capitalist State, the achievements of the social democracy in the Vienna municipality were extraordinary. These achievements of a capable and energetic reformism again and again prevented the masses from realising the real character of Austro-Marxism. Between the truth of the capitalist dictatorship and the illusions fostered by the Austrian social democracy rose the imposing pile of the municipal buildings of Vienna, and pre-

vented the proletariat from seeing the historic necessities of the situation.

THE PATH OF CAPITULATION

On July 15, 1927, the Austrian proletariat became aware for the first time of the profound inner contradictions of Austro-Marxism. But the masses of the social democratic workers did not want to believe in the collapse of their ideology. It is true that their absolute faith in Otto Bauer, who incorporated this ideology, was considerably shaken, but nevertheless they remained social democrats. They remained social democrats in the name of "unity," which became more and more the sole slogan left to Austro-Marxism. Otto Bauer must have felt on July 15 that his assertions would not stand the light of reality. He wanted to withdraw. Among his closest adherents the question was raised of the founding of an independent socialist periodical, and of the possibility of Renner's joining the political editorial board of the "*Arbeiter Zeitung*." This did not come about; the party congress, convened after July 15, ended with a slogan for the "unity of the working class in social democracy. Precisely as the "*Arbeiter Zeitung*" had trumpeted "victory, victory!" after the election success, now it trumpeted "unity, unity!" Otto Bauer remained in the background for some time, Renner and Danneberg became the leading politicians. But the policy of social democracy followed its pre-ordained path. Since the whole of the party leaders rejected revolution, since the whole of the party leaders shrank from the seizure of power, the only way left was that of capitulation. Slight shades of difference, skilful moves in the game, may have appeared of importance to the participants at the moment. They could not hold back historical developments. Austrian social democracy, after its frightful defeat, manoeuvred more cleverly, flexibly, and successfully than other social democratic parties. It exploited disagreements in the camp of counter-revolution, with psychological skill it played off Schober against Seipel, one group against another, with diplomatic elasticity it played its part in the underground struggles of the imperialist states, it allied itself with the Czechs, the Yugoslavs, the French, against the Heimwehr—but all this did not prevent fascism; on the contrary, it brought it about. Fascism cannot be defeated by means of foreign political intrigues, nor by parliamentary trickery, nor by the devices of state craft, but only by the revolutionary class power of the proletariat.

THE LACK OF FAITH IN THE PROLETARIAT

The leaders of Austrian social democracy, however, believed as little in the revolutionary class power of the proletariat and in the creative force of the working class as any other leaders of the Second International. And this lack of faith in the ability of the working class to accomplish its enormous task in the revolution, under the leadership of the revolutionary party by means of an enormous awakening of latent energies—this petty-bourgeois lack of faith is the root of Austro-Marxism.

And the soil on which Austro-Marxism thrived was that of a capitalism saturated with prosperity and democracy, into which the social democratic parties grew peacefully. This peaceful growing into capitalism has corrupted the social democratic parties, has transformed them from organs of international class struggle into appendages of the national bourgeoisie. Bedded in capitalism, they have lost the capacity of imagining the forcible overthrow of capitalism, and have accustomed themselves to regarding the revolution as a "catastrophe." The chains which they have to lose are made of gold. From the fear of losing these golden chains arose the ideology of defence, of holding fast to what has been achieved within the confines of capitalism. The Linz Programme of Austrian social democracy, too, preached the ideology of defence. In this programme force is recognised as the last means of defence; in this programme the idea of revolution is converted into the idea of waiting for the attack of counter-revolution, the idea of armed uprising degenerates into that of the armed defence. Otto Bauer, the creator of the Linz Programme, was free from all the coarse and fine corruptions resulting from the peaceful growing into capitalism; but nevertheless he became the exponent of degenerate petty-bourgeois social democracy.

He has lived Puritanically, he has stood for socialism, for the working class, out of genuine convictions. But at bottom he has not really believed in the historical role of the proletariat.

This unusual man has invariable over-estimated the powers of the enemy. He has been a prisoner in the net of his extensive bourgeois education. He has carried his researches into the last labyrinthine ramifications of the world of capitalism, of bour-

geois philosophy, of bourgeois science, and in doing so he has isolated himself from the masses. The world of capitalism has risen before him like a giant, superior to the proletariat in the apparatus of force, in political possibilities, in intellectual reserves. How is the proletariat to conquer the world, to dictate its laws to this world, when it has neither the weapons nor the education of the enemy? Otto Bauer has reckoned up all the difficulties, all the dangers of such an undertaking, and has come to the result: "impossible." For he did not include in his calculation the revolutionary creative powers of the working class. The teacher of Austro-Marxism, Victor Adler, coined the phrase: "The brain is an organ of inhibition." And in actual fact the brain of his pupil Otto Bauer has acted exclusively as an organ of inhibition. This brain had calculated and calculated: "It cannot be done to-day. But perhaps when we have got 51 per cent. of the votes. Perhaps when we have got a million party members. Perhaps when capitalism capitulates by itself in consequence of its contradictions. Perhaps when a fresh world war convulses the Continent. Perhaps when. . . Perhaps when. . . But one thing is certain: it cannot be done yet." In every decisive situation the calculation of fatalism has been applied: the tensions in the parties of counter-revolution, the comparative forces existing at the moment in the imperialist states, the Czech government, the French government—all these factors have been added to the calculation. There is only one factor which has been neglected: the proletariat. Otto Bauer's criticism of the revolutionary workers has been characteristic: "This lack of level is frightful. These people have no level. It is impossible to fight on such a level." And it is true that the starving unemployed who opposed him were not on the same level as highly educated politicians. But their class instinct was not deceived, their class instinct knew what was needed a thousand times better than the highly educated politicians. Otto Bauer has not believed in this class instinct. He has believed in his highly trained intellect.

This is not a question of "leader's psychology," it is a question of demonstrating the essential character of Austro-Marxism from its exponents. Austro-Marxism is the most refined of all forms of expression of lack of faith in the proletariat, and of the economic fatalism arising from this, which prevents the revolution of the European working class and brings about fascism. Austro-Marxism has prevented the revolution in Austria and brought about fascism. Otto Bauer is not a "traitor"—but his policy was bound inevitably to end with the betrayal of proletarian interests to counter-revolution. To the policy which was inevitably bound to end in the triumph of open shameless reformism over all revolutionary phrase-mongering, in the readiness of the reformists of Austrian social democracy, and of Otto Bauer with them, to tolerate fascism on the basis of the papal encyclical, to empower the Dollfuss government to rule "authoritatively" for two years and to pay any price to hold back a revolutionary rising of the proletariat.

THE SCHUTZBUND

How did this revolutionary uprising come about in spite of all this, how did the heroic struggle of the Schutzbuendler arise?

The double-sidedness of Austro-Marxism, which adopted a revolutionary attitude in order to frighten the bourgeoisie and to retain the adherence of the proletariat to social democracy, but was determined on the other hand never to realise the revolution which it announced, was a double-sidedness which was carried over from the ideological into the organisational. The party became an election association, which was only able to function under the conditions of democracy. The Republican Defence Corps (Schutzbund) was incorporated in this election association, and was a well-armed and well-trained defence formation of the working class. Austrian social democracy, which commanded the defensive forces of the Republic until 1920, continued to need a military force to protect its rear, if it was to continue its special policy and not be converted into a reformist party like that of German social democracy. As soon as the army became an instrument of the bourgeoisie, the Schutzbund protected the rear of social democracy. The Schutzbund retained for the social-democratic party the adherents of the bravest and most radical workers; it placed them under the obligation of military discipline, and estranged them from politics. The Schutzbund had no political say in the party, its role was that of the Pretorian Guard of the Party Committee. And yet the existence of the Schutzbund forced Austrian social democracy into undertakings which dismayed all the reformists. Although the Schutzbund was isolated from the

masses, it held itself in readiness in all critical situations. That is to say, it was not permitted to interfere in events, but it could not but be supplied with arms, and whether the social-democratic leaders wanted to or not, they were obliged to train it in the spirit of the armed conflict with counter-revolution. It is true that the ideology of the defensive was hammered unceasingly into the Schutzbund—but when the crisis revolutionised the whole proletariat, the Schutzbund was more rapidly and thoroughly revolutionised than the rest of the party members.

THE RADICALISATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

After the coup d'état of Austrian fascism in March, 1933, this radicalisation was tremendous and unceasing. The definitely reformist elements had been demanding for some time the liquidation of the Schutzbund; they were quite aware that it was not the revolutionary phraseology which formed a serious danger to the reformist character of the party, but the existence of the Schutzbund, and that this armed elite troop of the proletariat was a foreign body in the social-democratic election association. The more acute the crisis became, the greater their misgiving towards the much praised "unity of the working class" in social democracy. Now they could be heard to say: "Let us draw a line of demarcation between us and the radical elements! Let us free the party of concealed Communists! Better to lose 10,000 workers than to land in a catastrophe!" But Austro-Marxism was unable to renounce the unity of the working class and social democracy, for to do so would have been to renounce itself.

Unity was maintained. But this unity continually forced fresh concessions to the workers tending more and more to revolution, forced fresh concessions to the Schutzbund preparing for the armed defensive. Whilst the definitely reformist elements stood for the liquidation of the Schutzbund, for unconditional capitulation, and thus for a split, the obstinate Austro-Marxists hoped to extort concessions from the government by threats of civil war. Some Austro-Marxists were even of the opinion that an uprising in some groups might be the means of intimidating the government and of legitimising social democracy as the saviour of Austria from the revolution. This "playing with insurrection," against which Lenin warned, infected the policy of Austro-Marxism. **Putschism revealed itself as the organic complement of reformism.** The inner contradictions of Austro-Marxism developed to the point of absurdity.

THE OATH OF LIBERTY AND THE PARLIAMENTARY FARCE

Immediately after March 5, 1933, the "unity" of the party appeared to be realised for the last time. The functionaries of social democracy resolved unanimously to take up the struggle. The party committee declared unanimously that March 15, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon Parliament would meet, against the will of the government! The forcible disbanding of Parliament would signify the general strike and civil war. March 15 arrived. The Schutzbund was mobilised and was to be ready to strike at 4 o'clock. The party members gathered together in the party meeting places; all the works and factories waited for the general strike order—and the social democratic deputies recognised with horror that this time revolutionary words were becoming reality. Austro-Marxism was caught in the net of its own methods and was on the point of being drawn into a revolution against its will, against its essential character. But, at the last, the very last moment, it succeeded in escaping this unexpected consequence. One politician proposed to the other politicians: "What can happen if we do not open the session at 3 o'clock, but at half-past two? Nothing can happen. The police will come at 3 o'clock. But by 3 o'clock we are finished. The session has already taken place, and the government is disgraced." The deputies sprang up enthusiastically, ran as fast as they could to the session hall, played at Parliament as fast as they could—and by the time the police arrived the farce was ended.

Laughing at the good joke, the deputies went to the party meeting places. But the proletariat did not laugh at the good joke. When the armed Schutzbuendler were told that the whole fight was called off, many of them threw down their arms, and many of them tore up their membership cards. In many places the Schutzbund shrank over night to one-third of its number. **The illusion of unity was dispelled. The party began to dissolve.**

POLITICAL DISARMAMENT AND MILITARY ARMAMENT

Austro-Marxism, if it did not want to lose tens of thousands of the best and bravest proletarians, if it did not want to bring about its own complete liquidation, was forced to prevent the disbanding of the Schutzbund. It was no longer able to win the

Schutzbuendler back by means of revolutionary phrases, and was obliged to increase their armaments intensively and to adapt the Schutzbund intensively to the idea of the armed defensive. The inner contradictions of Austro-Marxism broke the bonds of all reason. "The masses have failed; why did they not go into the Ringstrasse?" said those very men who had stigmatised the initiative of the masses on July 15, 1927, as a criminal breach of discipline, and who held back the masses in the party meeting places on March 15, 1934. "The anger of the people is not yet sufficiently aroused, we must wait for the outbreak of the anger of the people!" said the very same men who, on July 15, 1927, opposed the outbreak of the anger of the people with the aid of fire engines, and who, on March 15, 1933, prevented the outbreak of this anger by a despicable farce. And they went out to look for the anger of the people. At all meetings they depicted the horrors of civil war, they spoke of a catastrophe whose result would be a heap of ruins, they warned threateningly: "If we rise, the Germans, the Hungarians, the Italians, will march in." Was the anger of the people ever aroused in such a way? Was a revolution ever prepared by such methods? "The workers are not revolutionary, they do not want to fight!" said the very same men who railed against the advocates of revolutionary struggle as fools and wreckers, who condemned partial actions because it was necessary "to save all our powers for the decisive struggle," who called off strike movements because they feared that the struggle might "go too far." **The political disarmament of the masses was accompanied by the military armament of the Schutzbund.** Those same speakers who conjured up before the eyes of the masses all the horrors of civil war, said to the Schutzbuendler: "Civil war is inevitable, but we are not yet sufficiently armed." Those same politicians who imposed on large sections of the proletariat the conviction that the struggle was hopeless, strengthened the Schutzbuendler in the conviction that the armed uprising would sweep away the government. This was the unity of the working class in social democracy! Beneath the thin skin of this unity the body of the party decomposed. The reformist group around Renner and Schneidmedl carried on a policy of their own, sabotaged the Schutzbund in Lower Austria, and declared to the Christian Socials that they disapproved of the attitude of the "Jews" in the party committee and in the "Arbeiter Zeitung." The Schutzbund leaders pursued a policy of their own, and wanted to bring about a putsch and to establish the military dictatorship of the Schutzbund. A number of trade union leaders pursued a policy of their own—social democracy existed as an external organisational husk, as a heap of debris, hampering the revolution.

THE LEFT OPPOSITION

Not only the feelings of broad masses of the workers rose in protest against this hampering of the revolution, but a **fractional organised Left Opposition**. In this Left Opposition there are many opinions, many antagonisms, many illusions—but all its members stood honestly for the revolutionary class struggle, for the armed uprising, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. All its members honestly combated the policy of toleration, of waiting, of Austro-Marxist fatalism. All its members were honestly determined to realise the programme of Communism. But this will to Communism had not yet shaken off all the fetters of social democratic prejudices. And although this will to Communism mobilised ever greater sections of the proletariat, these social democratic prejudices still limited the effective political possibilities of the Left Opposition. In spite of this unsatisfactory mixture of theoretical recognition and tactical misgiving, of fundamental rejection and actual acknowledgement of social democracy, the Left Opposition prepared ideologically for the armed insurrection and influenced the decision of the revolutionary Schutzbuendler. **The Left Opposition proved capable of going forward in advance of the masses. But it did not prove capable of leading the masses.**

THE DEFEAT

And Otto Bauer? He and the few who continued to hold fast to the conceptions of Austro-Marxism calculated fatalistically with defeat. Their lack of faith in the powers of the proletariat had grown into the desperate conviction, "We are living in a counter-revolutionary situation. In this situation fascism advances steadily and irresistibly. Whatever we do is wrong and disastrous. Up to the very last moment we shall strive for an understanding with the counter-revolution, although we do not consider this understanding possible. We shall rise at the very last moment, although we do not consider a victory possible. We shall perish

honourably." This was all that was left of Austro-Marxism: the gloomy expectation of failure, the inner capitulation to dying capitalism. The homunculus collapsed impotently. The revolution arose powerfully.

Austro-Marxism expected defeat. It was to blame for the defeat. For fifteen years it prevented the revolution. And it fell when the revolution could no longer be prevented.

Yes, the Austrian proletariat suffered defeat. But this defeat is more fruitful and creative than all the successes of Austro-Marxism. On the third day of the struggles a Schutzbuendler observed: "This defeat was necessary. The uprising is ended—but the revolution has commenced." This is not the opinion of just this one Schutzbuendler, it expresses the feeling of all the revolutionary proletarians in Austria. They are not depressed. They feel themselves unconquered. They have commenced to prepare the revolution. **Austro-Marxism is dead, but the great, proud, invincible Austrian proletariat continues to live. Austro-Marxism has fallen, the path is free. The path leads to the new unity of the working class, the revolutionary unity in the Communist Party.**

Radicalisation Within the Swiss Social Democracy

By A.

The stubborn, sullen resistance of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party executive to the proposals made by the Communist Party for the creation of an all-Swiss scale of unity of action against fascism has by no means been able to silence discussion among the membership of the S.P. As the date of the impending autumn Swiss National Party Conference approaches, and as the international wave of the revolutionary united front in the European countries—and especially in France—swells in power, so the drive towards this unity is becoming more and more vehement in the ranks of Swiss social democracy as well. Precisely because the Right wing of Swiss social democracy has been coming latterly more and more into the open and showing itself more and more provocative, the growing resentment of the social-democratic workers has recently been producing more defined forms of opposition, and this opposition, put up by the workers themselves, already reaches far beyond the bounds set by the familiar, so-called "Left" leaders.

In the National Council Committee for the consideration of the Federal Council Military Bill there was an open split last week in the social-democratic fraction when a vote was taken on the prolongation of recruit training. **Mueller (Biel), Fenk (St. Gallen) and Gropierre** made frankly social-chauvinist speeches in favour of the Military and also voted for it, while **Schneider (Basle)** rejected the bill, and the two remaining social-democratic members of the committee abstained from voting.

On the other hand, the "Lefts" are again trying, if with noticeable caution, to push themselves forward. Thus the "Left" Zurich party-secretary **Ernst Walter** comes out in the "**Volksrecht**" with a new discussion article in which he demands, not, it is true, without several slanderous side-thrusts at the Communists, the repeal of the Biel Party Conference resolutions of the previous year, which prohibited any co-operation with the Communists, and the establishment of unity of action on the French model. The editor of the "**Volksrecht**" caps this article with a venomous comment, stating roundly that as long as the Comintern is determined to maintain its own organisation there can be no question of a united organisation.

After much hesitation and after becoming aware of the scandalous rejection by the Zurich A.A.J. (Socialist Workers' Youth) of the invitation given by our Party and youth organisation for a local united front—to this day the Zurich social-democratic party has refused to reply—the **Young Socialist Movement in Zurich** has sent a letter of reply, in which it welcomes the proposal for common action, dissociates itself emphatically from the attitude of the S.A.J., but states in addition that as an organisation working within the social-democratic party it is not entitled to negotiate independently and has therefore written to the Zurich S.P. demanding that negotiations with the Communist Party be opened immediately. That is certainly not much, but all the same it is a first step that will have further effects from the point of view of the united front.

Of much greater significance, however, is the fact that recently an official "**Platform of the 'Left' Wing of the Social-Democratic**

Party of Switzerland" has appeared in pamphlet form, which on the whole provides a visible document of the deep radicalisation of the social-democratic workers and of the growing, even if not yet admitted, ideological influence of the Communists among the social-democratic workers. It is no accident that none of the accepted "Left" leaders, neither **Ernst Walter** in Zurich nor **Schneider** in Basle, nor even **Nicole** in Geneva, has accepted responsibility for the authorship of this platform. The two authors, **Hans Naegeli (Zurich)** and **Juzler (Basle)**, have hitherto not been particularly prominent. They describe their platform as "the result of the profound deliberations of a large number of comrades from various places." The contents of this platform differ, too, very considerably from the more or less diplomatic subterfuges that the "Left" leaders have seen fit up till now to use in party controversy. It seems that this platform, with all its incompleteness and all the errors clinging to it, does indeed reflect a fairly true picture of the oppositional opinions forming during the last few months among the membership and the intermediate body of functionaries. This fact makes it worthy of exhaustive examination.

The foreword describes as the point of departure for the earlier deliberations of the oppositional party members

"the total disorientation, noticeable already for a considerable period, of the party leadership, which, taken by surprise by events abroad, is trying without course and without compass to wedge its way between the two fundamental tendencies within the movement—reformism and revolutionary Marxism—in that it is more and more abandoning altogether independent action and is abdicating in favour of the petty bourgeois-reformist tendency prevailing particularly among the heads of the trade unions. Such a state of affairs is for a socialist party quite intolerable and must become fatal for it in a period of the sharpening of all the conflicts and contradictions within society. Experiences in Italy, and especially in Germany and Austria, have provided definite proof that it was precisely the petty bourgeois-reformist, totally anti-revolutionary policy that condemned the working class to impotence in the face of fascism, that led the working-class movement towards collapse and made possible the victory of fascism."

From these conclusions the authors deduce a confirmation of the programme adopted at the Party Conference of December, 1920, which, as is well known, declares itself in favour of the proletarian dictatorship, and they want in their platform "to give the working class and its organisations the revolutionary Marxist orientation," which to-day is still lacking in all countries. The economic analysis of the world situation, which takes up the first section, comes to this conclusion:—

"This capitalism cannot be reformed; its system of rule must be smashed, a new order of Society must be built up. The victorious Russian Revolution, the existence of the Soviet Union, proves that this is possible."

The description of the causes of the development of fascist reaction and of the abolition of democratic rights is also essentially correct. And the explicit statement that development to fascism is not unavoidable shows how far our propaganda already to-day has established the ideological influence of Communism among the active, class-conscious elements of social democracy that are earnestly grappling with the problems of Socialism. The general section closes with the conclusion that "**history has set the alternative: proletarian or fascist dictatorship. Either barbarian exploitation and oppression of the people by monopoly capital or the rule of the workers and peasants, based on the workers' and peasants' councils.**"

The second part of the platform analyses the decline of Swiss capitalism and describes the attack of the bourgeoisie in the form of wage cuts, reduction of unemployment relief, imposition of fresh mass taxes, restrictions in political rights and the de-nationalisation of the railways. Here there is in part a very severe criticism of the methods of struggle of social democracy against this attack. In particular, the active co-operation of the trade union bureaucracy in wage cuts, their practice of strangling strikes (for example, the conflict in the metal industry), their support of the penal-servitude law, are criticised and, by way of example, the law for the muzzling of the press is traced directly to the fact that the Federal Council only dared to enact this law

"encouraged by the perfidy of the trade unions and by their going over to the side of an open dictatorship of capital in the question of democratic rights and the liberties of the people."

Also the following sentences directed against social democracy on account of its attitude to the ban on demonstrations should not sound too sweetly in the ears of the party executive:—

"The ban on demonstrations was likewise submitted to without opposition and without struggle. Yes, such things are issued even by representatives of our party holding official positions and directly welcomed by another section of the leaders, in order to hide behind these bans their aversion for any extra-parliamentary action on the part of the working class."

That is a clear allusion to the bans imposed by the social-democratic municipality of Zurich for the protection of the Fronts and against the workers' anti-fascist demonstrations.

One can only agree with the authors of the platform when they close this section as follows:—

"If in an army the general staff were to do such things in the face of an enemy attack, they would at the very least be sent ignominiously to the devil, if not stood against the wall and shot."

The initiative displayed in crisis by the trade unions also comes in for annihilating criticism. Contempt and scorn are poured upon the idea of bringing about protection of wages by means of a paragraph in the Constitution.

The Swiss edition of the De Man plan of work is unmasked, as it deserves, as "the old reformism, only freshly painted and powdered and wrapped in the toga of a revolutionary-looking radicalism."

Thus actually nothing that goes to make up the existing official policy of the Swiss social democracy and trade union federation remains intact before the criticism of this "Left" Wing programme of action. Let us see what it has to offer that is positive.

A programme of action is demanded that has "as its central point the struggle for the maintenance of the standard of life of the toiling people" and that is to "place less weight than ever on the parliamentary sphere, but rather upon the extra-parliamentary sphere." Only in big extra-parliamentary actions will the strength of the working class grow and the necessary conditions for the conquest of political power be created. Taxation of the capitalists for the maintenance of unemployment relief, progressive tax on incomes, fortunes and inheritance, special taxes for millionaires and maximum salaries for persons employed in the official service as well as for managers in industry, insurance and banking. Measures for the provision of work, in the first place through the introduction of the 40-hour week with full equalisation of wages, prohibition of overtime; in addition, building of new dwellings and hospitals, recognition of the Soviet Union, "control of production, control of industry by the working class"—these, together with a few demands for the trading middle class and the small peasants, are the most important points in this programme of action.

It is not unimportant to note that nearly all these demands, with the exception of the "control of production," obviously put forward by the adherents of Bringolf, are taken often almost word for word from the **Campaign for the Protection of the Existence of all Workers** launched by the Swiss National Committee against War and Fascism.

The influence of the movement for anti-fascist committees shows itself not only here. The platform of the "Left" Wingers also raises the question of the organisational forms in which the masses can be drawn in and mobilised in the struggle against the Fronts and against fascism in general, in the struggle for the economic demands of the day:—

"The party and the trade unions are not adequate as organisational forms by means of which these masses are to be mobilised, disciplined and brought into the struggle. The hundreds of thousands of organised and even to-day unorganised workers, the encumbered small farmers, the office workers, the tenants in the towns and industrial districts, must build for themselves a powerful organisational structure in the form of **delegate councils and anti-fascist fighting committees**, an organisation capable to-day of bringing from one hour to the other hundreds of thousands into the streets in the struggle for the daily demands, that to-morrow, however, will also be strong enough to **sweep away completely the decaying capitalist system and in its place to set up the power of the workers' and peasants' councils, the workers' and peasants' government.**" (Our emphasis.)

It must be recognised that these demands are not put for-

ward as isolated demands, in the manner of sham-revolutionary demagoguery not intended seriously. The platform of the "Left" Wingers explicitly states that the struggle for the maintenance of existing wages challenges the capitalist order and that "the struggle for political rights leads directly to the struggle for political power."

But then comes a sentence—the only one, incidentally, in which the Communists are mentioned at all in this platform—which shows how deep are the effects of the years of slandering of the Communists by the leaders of the S.P. and of the trade union federation, how deeply the abuse of the Communists as the alleged "disrupters of the working-class movement," even after recent events, even after the Communist Party's invitation to social democracy to join in a common struggle to save the anti-fascist fighters in Germany and Austria and after the cynical rejection of this invitation by the Swiss S.P. executive, is still to-day having its effects, too, in the ranks of the "Left" Wing of social democracy.

"If it comes," continues the "Left" Wingers' programme of action, "to real actions, then not even a Comintern bureaucracy will be able any longer to prevail against the masses' will to unity, as the actions in France and the Saar district have proved."

It must be frankly said that this is not the only passage open to attack in this platform of the "Left" Wing of Swiss social democracy. It is plain that the assiduous evasion of any definition of attitude as regards the Communists' offer of a united front, that the complete failure to deal with the question of war and to criticise at all the S.P. leaders' national defence propaganda, shows that the people behind this programme of action are evading a reply to precisely those questions that are placed directly on the order of the day by the present situation and that permit of no kind of evasion. The militant economic demands made by this programme of action—if, and in so far as they are honestly meant by their authors—provide so many good starting points for the establishment of unity of action in the factories and trade unions, as well as among the unemployed, for launching the immediate daily struggles—and the final paragraph of the programme of action even says that this programme "**must form the content of our actions, the public meetings, demonstrations, partial strikes, solidarity strikes, political mass strikes**"—and yet the political partial demands are inadequately and inconsistently developed.

But the most serious danger that can arise in the "Left" Wingers' agitation for such a working-class programme of action, should the Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. not understand how to make full use of the immediate and great possibilities for the development of common struggles in the political and economic spheres and the establishment of unity of action, is another. It is the danger of the awakening of fresh illusions among the workers that it is possible to capture social democracy from within by strengthening its "Left" Wing and to lead it back to the path of the revolutionary class struggle. That the authors of this programme are pursuing precisely this object is shown in all clarity by the concluding sentences of their platform:—

"We appeal to all class-conscious comrades, party members, trade unionists, members of workers' sports organisations . . . work unremittingly to ensure that the **entire leadership of the workers' movement, party and trade unions, is inspired by the revolutionary spirit and elected accordingly.**" (Our emphasis.)

Nothing could be more dangerous than to keep silent about this danger or merely to minimise it. Always and everywhere, wherever social-democratic parties have gone through a crisis due to the fascisation of their leadership and radicalisation of their members, "Left" leaders have attempted, by means of a new platform and even in some cases, as the example of the S.A.P. in Germany showed, by founding a new party, to establish a dam in order to catch the stream of the disillusioned masses of workers leaving social democracy and going "Left" towards Communism. It is certain that the Right Wing party bureaucracy, above all the leadership of the trade unions, will fall upon the programme of action of the "Left" Wingers with a howl of rage and represent all its advocates as being "infected with Communism." It is also not impossible that in the course of the inevitable deepening of the crisis within Swiss social democracy considerable splits may occur. For that very reason it is necessary to recognise to-day the danger which in such conditions—for instance, through the foundation of an intermediate party—might arise for the working class,

whose drive towards unity was never more powerful than it is to-day. Certain contacts between the "Left" Wing of social democracy and the Brandlerite renegades make this appear not out of the question.

But the recognition of these dangers must not for a moment stop us from making the fullest use of the great possibilities of developing practical unity of action in the political and economic daily struggles of the working class on the basis of the demands put forward here, and from doing everything possible to establish unity of action of all workers in the common leadership of these daily struggles. Unity of action, that is the sole and most certain means of preventing any danger of a new political split within the working class.

For a United Front of the Polish Working Class

(From an Appeal of the Polish C.P.)

To all workers and all organisations of the Polish Socialist Party, of the Jewish League, of the German Socialist Party in Poland, and of the Ukrainian Socialist Party!

To all trade unions affiliated to the Central Trade Union Commission!

To the workers of Poland, Western Ukraine, and West White Russia!

During the past eighteen months we have approached the leaders of the socialist parties in Poland on three occasions with proposals for the formation of a united front of the Polish working class: the first time on March 7, 1933, immediately after the burning of the Reichstag in Berlin, the second time in April of this year for a joint struggle against the fascist anti-proletarian decrees and laws, and for the third time a few weeks ago in favour of a joint campaign to secure the release of Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the heroic German Communists, and to defend the hundreds of thousands of proletarian political prisoners.

On each occasion the leaders of the various organisations we have approached have rejected our proposals. Each refusal was accompanied by a campaign of incitement against the revolutionary working-class movement and against the illegal Communist Party of Poland, which is fiercely persecuted by the government, and by attempts to break down the united front in those cases where it was formed as a result of the determination of the working masses, and attempts to drive a wedge between the socialist and Communist workers.

What was the attitude of the leaders of the Polish socialist party, of the Jewish League and of other Socialist parties? Was their attitude and their policy towards the united front against fascism and the offensive of capitalism any different from the attitude and the policy of the German social democracy?

When the German working class had been temporarily repulsed, the Polish bourgeoisie intensified its own offensive against the workers. What was the attitude of the Polish socialist leaders to the liquidation of the social insurance scheme, the eight-hour day and the paid holidays of the workers?

In December last year, on the eve of the introduction of the anti-proletarian laws, they declared themselves, through the mouth of Zulavski, against any struggle. But when the struggle broke out in spite of them, when the textile workers, the metal workers, and the proletarians in many other branches of industry came out on strike, these leaders did their utmost to counter our efforts to co-ordinate these various struggles and develop them into a general strike. After the strike of January 24 they deceived the workers with the promise that they would organise and declare a general strike through the Central Trade Union Commission. Now the workers can see quite clearly that this promise was nothing but a manoeuvre to gain time and facilitate the preparations of the bourgeoisie to introduce the so-called "unification law" and to deliver further attacks on the working-class positions.

The central committee of the Polish socialist party has now rejected our proposal for joint action on behalf of Comrade Thaelmann and the other proletarian political prisoners. In our offer we stressed in particular that we were not proposing an action on behalf of Thaelmann alone, but on behalf of the hundreds of thousands of proletarian political prisoners in Hitler's prisons and concentration camps.

The leaders of the Polish socialist party rejected our offer

just at a time when the fascist terrorist groups of the National Radical Party (N.A.R.A.) began to organise brutal attacks on working-class premises, etc., and on working-class quarters, and when the bourgeoisie was deliberately organising an anti-Jewish pogrom of incitement in an effort to sidetrack the workers away from the revolutionary struggle.

With what arguments do the leaders of the Polish socialist party attempt to dissuade the socialist workers from joining in a struggle against fascism shoulder to shoulder with their Communist fellow-workers? The secretary of the socialist party, Puzak, informed our deputation that before his party could do anything the two Internationals would have to come to some agreement. However, the leaders of the socialist party have not ventured to use this argument openly.

The "Robotnik," the official organ of the Polish socialist party, publishes an article by Niedzialkowski, in which an attempt is made to justify the rejection of our offer by pointing to the French example. Niedzialkowski misrepresents the facts. It is not true that the French Communists have rejected the condition of the French socialists that mutual attacks should be abandoned. In their offer to the French socialist party our French comrades said the same as all Communist Parties have said, and the same as we said in our open letter in March of last year to all socialist parties, namely, during the period of joint action the Communist Parties are prepared to cease all attacks on socialist organisations which honestly fight for the platform agreed upon, whilst retaining the right to attack all those who sabotage or betray the joint struggle.

Despite the sabotage of the socialist leaders in this country, the Polish Communist Party will not abandon its efforts to forge a united working-class front against fascism and the threatening danger of imperialist war. **For us Communists the united front is not a hypocritical manoeuvre.** We are prepared to do everything possible to establish the fighting unity of the proletariat, and we repeat now what we said in June last year in the resolution of the Central Committee of our Party: **We are prepared to work together with any working-class organisation which is willing to fight against fascism and against the danger of imperialist war.**

Workers of the Polish socialist party, of the Jewish League, and of all other socialist organisations!

We appeal to you in order that you may decide for yourselves whether you are in favour of a united fighting front with us against fascism and imperialist war or not.

The present situation in Poland itself, the intensification of the fascist terror, the thousands of arrests which have been made amongst the workers and peasants, the new wave of terror which has caused the indignation of the working masses, all these things make the united front an urgent necessity and duty. But, further, the whole international situation, the bloody events in Germany, etc., make necessary the united front, the co-ordination of all the forces of the working class for the overthrow of fascism, for the prevention of imperialist war, and for the prevention of a new war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The assassination of the Minister of the Interior, Pieracki, which was a symptom of the accelerating process of decomposition in the camp of the fascist governing party, is now being utilised by the fascist bourgeoisie for renewed and bloody attacks on the working class and peasant masses. Every worker who takes part in a strike, a demonstration, or even a meeting is now liable to imprisonment or a concentration camp. The establishment of concentration camps is an attempt to exterminate physically the best sons of the Polish working class, the best elements amongst the peasantry and amongst the oppressed nationalities. The concentration camps are part of the preparations for the coming war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The concentration camps mean that even the appearance of fascist legal reforms and of fair trial are now to be abandoned. The concentration camps mean open violence and murder along the lines of Hitler's example. The establishment of these concentration camps represent an open declaration of war against the working masses.

We appeal to all the local and district organisations of the Polish socialist party, of the Jewish League, and of all other socialist organisations, and to the local and district organisations of all

trade unions to establish a united front of all the workers under the following slogans:—

- (1) The immediate abolition of all concentration camps.
- (2) Down with the fascist terror. Down with the Nara terrorist bands and with all other fascist groups.
- (3) Solidarity and assistance for the fighting German workers. Release Ernst Thaelmann and all other proletarian political prisoners.

We propose the following forms of joint action:—

- (1) Factory and trade union meetings which shall adopt resolutions and elect joint committees of action.
- (2) The organisation of protest strikes throughout the country.
- (3) The organisation of street demonstrations.

We are faced with events of historic importance. The structure of the bloody fascist dictatorship in Germany is already tottering.

On the basis of the new revolutionary advance of the workers and the increasing discontent and ferment amongst the masses deceived by fascism, an internal struggle is proceeding in the camp of the fascists themselves and revealing a disgusting picture of decomposition, decay, corruption and filth. The decomposition of the brown-shirted storm detachments is proceeding rapidly. Great revolutionary prospects are opening up before the martyred working class of Germany.

The Polish bourgeoisie has concluded a pact of friendship

with the bloody Hitler regime in Germany, and a military alliance against the working masses of the Soviet Union.

The working masses of Poland will counter this alliance of the exploiters and oppressors with a fraternal and revolutionary alliance with the workers of Germany. The German working class must not be left unsupported in its heroic struggle against the fascist dictatorship which is already crumbling. The victory of the German proletariat over the fascist Hitler dictatorship will be a tremendous victory for the international proletariat.

We must assist the German workers in their struggle by intensifying the struggle against our own bourgeoisie, by countering the reactionary plans of the fascist Pilsudski government, and by establishing a fighting united front of the Polish working class against fascism in all its forms and against the offensive of capitalism.

Long live the fighting united front of the Polish working class!
Long live the heroic struggle of the German proletariat against the fascist dictatorship!

Fight against imperialist war and defend the Soviet Union!
Fight against the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski!

Long live the workers' and peasants' government of Poland!
Long live the Polish Soviet Republic!

The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of Poland.

Warsaw, the middle of June, 1934.

Twentieth International Youth Day

To the Toiling Youth of All Countries!

(Appeal of the E.C.Y.C.L.)

Comrades!

Twenty years ago, at the command of the crowned murderers and armament kings, tens of millions of toilers were driven into the trenches of imperialist war.

During the four years of slaughter, twenty millions of the best sons of the peoples fell on the banks of the Ypres, at the approaches to Verdun, on the Carpathian mountains, on the fields of Alsace and Lorraine.

Though the war brought thousands of millions in profits to the capitalists, it thrust the toilers still deeper into the abyss of poverty and starvation, and increased the oppression and slavery of mankind. The bourgeois "fatherland," in the name of which oceans of blood were shed, in the name of which a whole generation of the flower of the youth perished, can now give to the young workers only the right to die of starvation.

In all the world there was only one Party, the Bolshevik Party, led by the great leader of the proletariat, Lenin, which from the very beginning of the war showed up the true meaning of this war of plunder with all the force of its revolutionary faithfulness to the cause of the working class, and called on the proletariat to struggle against the real enemies of the toilers, to fight against the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian youth, educated in the spirit of the best traditions of the anti-militarist struggle, were the first to join the Party of Lenin, and, together with their Karl Liebknecht, they stood on the path of a hard and fierce struggle against imperialist wars and militarism.

The revolutionary organisations of the youth, which remained loyal to the end to the cause of the working class, in 1915, at the Berne Conference adopted an appeal to all the youth to struggle against war, and resolved to organise a single international youth day of anti-war struggle.

Boldly they raised the fighting flag of internationalism over the blood-stained ground of the trenches.

Hundreds of thousands of the youth responded to this fighting call and on October 3, 1915, marched out in demonstrations, organised strikes, and presented to the governments their demands for

the stopping of the war. Since then 19 years have passed. This year we celebrate the 20th International Youth Day.

The I.Y.D. has become a fighting tradition for the revolutionary youth. And we, the Young Communist Leagues, the only inheritors of the revolutionary behests of Stuttgart and Berne throughout all these years hold high our banner of militant internationalism.

After the war a new generation of youth grew up. And those who had been born to the thunder of the cannon in the frightful slaughter of 1914, those who only knew from the talk of their parents something of the war, they are the ones who to-day will have to go to serve in the army, and from them will be made millions of "unknown soldiers" and "valiant defenders" of the fatherlands of the Krupps, Schneiders, Creusots, Pilsudskis, and Mussolinis.

Comrades! Young Workers!

To-day the danger of a new imperialist war and the threat to the fatherland of the world proletariat is extremely serious.

You yourselves can see how the war factories are working full pressure. You can see every day parades and army manoeuvres. You are driven by force into the military and fascist organisations of the youth. In the schools and universities the most reactionary and chauvinistic teachings about the right of one nation to oppress another are driven into your heads. In the organisations formed by the bourgeoisie, millions of the youth are trained in the spirit of national hatred and subordination to the bourgeois State. The majority of the youth are militarised and given military training in some form or another.

Why is this being done?

In whose interests are millions of dollars and francs spent on the manufacture of cannons and poison gases?

At whose expense are the huge armies and the armed fascist gangs supported?

The bourgeoisie, who are preparing for new wars, for an attack on the U.S.S.R., are militarising the whole population and, above all, the youth, at the cost of the most savage plunder of the toiling masses, and they are creating fascist organisations for the purpose

of crushing the growing indignation of the workers and peasants in order to ensure the peacefulness of the rear in time of war.

You are called on to "defend the fatherland"! What fatherland?

The fatherland where the hangmen of the working class—Hitler, Mussolini, and Pilsudski rule? The fatherland where you are shot down with or without trial for daring to ask for bread? The fatherland where five times as much is spent on the upkeep of a police dog as on a worker's child? The fatherland which is not able either to feed or educate the youth?

Is it worth while dying for such a fatherland?

We proletarian youth, like all the toilers, love our proletarian Germany, beautiful Italy, France, and England, and it is precisely because of this love, because of our right to live, our right to use all the benefits and values created by the hands of our fathers, that we must take it away from the bourgeoisie! We will only defend it when it is really our proletarian fatherland.

In all the countries of capital a frantic attack is being made on the last vestiges of the political rights of the workers, on those democratic liberties which they used to enjoy.

The dying capitalist system is clinging to fascism as its last means of salvation from the strengthening revolutionary storm. Only on the background of the dark decline of capitalism could be born such a system of cynical deception, bloody violence, and terror as fascism.

A government maintained only by the power of bayonets held by its own deceived slaves cannot exist for long. It must inevitably perish as soon as the masses of the toilers realise their strength and throw off the bonds of deception.

A new and powerful wave of the revolutionary upsurge is growing and widening in all countries. "The idea of an onslaught is ripening in the minds of the masses."

The proletariat is passing over more determinedly to the counter-attack against fascism.

The heroic fight of the workers of Austria, the mass actions in France, the barricade fighting in Holland, in San Francisco, the strikes in America, Poland, Japan, and other countries, are thundering like gigantic battering rams against the walls of the capitalist world. The banner of the Soviets is waving over one seventh of China.

Raise higher the banner of struggle! Widen the front of the attack! Do not let the bourgeoisie rest for a moment!

The Social Democracy and the Socialist Youth International have already demonstrated their incapacity and lack of desire for struggle against war as against fascism; they have gone over openly into the camp of their bourgeoisie and have surrendered the masses of workers and working youth to the frantic clutches of the reaction.

Completely expose fascism, which is trying to win the masses by the pseudo-revolutionary lie of "national socialism" and the "defence of the interests of the toilers," and which in Germany is definitely throwing off these gaudy rags of demagoguery and appearing before the toilers in its real form of the naked dictatorship of the bankers and factory owners.

Comrades, Young Toilers!

Imperialist wars, starvation, poverty, and slavery can only be ended by the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Power.

Apart from the Communist Parties, there are no parties in the world which really fight for the partial and general demands of the workers.

There is no organisation of the youth except the Young Communist League which struggles under the leadership of the Communist Party for the liberation of the masses of the toiling youth from capitalist slavery.

Only under the leadership of the Communist Party can the proletariat and the toiling masses overthrow the bloody dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Our future is in our own hands. It depends on our will to struggle and conquer. No terror can force us to abandon our striving to victory. We have proved this and are proving it every moment. Our Chinese, German, Japanese, Italian, Polish, and Bulgarian comrades, in the strictest illegality, are carrying on successful work for the organisation of the masses for the struggle against fascism.

The terror can frighten only occasional cowards, but not the working class, not the revolutionary party, not the revolutionary youth. Every bloody crime simply fires our hatred more. Every drop of blood that is shed gives birth to a new warrior. History cannot

be stopped by the hangman's noose or by the headman's axe, and the more so if this history is created by the most revolutionary class—the proletariat.

Comrades, Young Workers, Peasants!

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International sends you a fighting call to come out on to the streets on September 1 in demonstrations, to organise strikes and revolutionary activity as a protest against the war in preparation, against the militarisation and fascisation of the youth! We call on all the toiling youth, irrespective of the organisations to which they belong at the present time.

Comrades! Young Socialist Workers!

The Young Communist International calls on you all to act jointly with the Y.C.L. on September 1 against war and fascism. In defence of the U.S.S.R., for the liberation of Comrade Thaelmann, Paula Wallisch, and all other prisoners of international reaction.

We call on you to organise joint demonstrations, actions, and strikes on International Youth Day. We call on you to form joint youth committees for the struggle for the release of Comrade Thaelmann and the prisoners of capital. We call on you to form a united front of struggle of the toiling youth against hunger, want, fascism, and war.

The Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. declares to all the toiling youth that it is prepared to collaborate with any youth organisation which is willing to struggle together with us against the exploitation and the enslavement of the youth, against fascism, for socialism.

The Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. instructs all its organisations and every Y.C.L.er to make every effort to strengthen the unity of the toiling youth. All those who want to struggle for a brighter future for the youth, not for the sake of hypocrisy but honestly, will always find the warmest support and help from us.

Comrades of the Socialist youth! Decide whom you will march with—with the Welses and Leys, or with the thousands of the youth who are struggling, together with the Communists against fascism.

The joint actions of the Y.S.L.ers and Y.C.L.ers, in Austria, Great Britain, France, Spain, their joint struggle in Germany and other countries have proved the possibility and the usefulness of this work.

Unite around the noble banner of Lenin and Liebknecht! Act together with us on September 1 in the struggle against war and fascism.

Comrades! Young Workers in the fascist organisations!

You have been tricked with promises of a good life. It is hammered into your heads that the Communists are your enemies. You are persuaded that a new war and an attack on the U.S.S.R. are the only "salvation for the nation." But you must understand that you are being shamelessly tricked, that you are being slavishly exploited, that you are being made into strike-breakers and murderers of the working class, who are fighting against fascism. The German fascists promised work, but now they are driving all young workers under the age of 25 out of the factories, forcing them into the camps, deporting them to the country-side to be at the disposal of the big landlords. The wonderful "9 commandments of Goering," like the entire economic programme of fascism, are directed most strongly of all against the youth, dooming them to hunger and want and depriving them of all rights to get jobs. We call on you, young workers in the fascist organisations, to struggle along with us against fascism.

Organise strikes in the forced labour camps, join the Y.C.L. Help the Y.C.L.ers to carry on anti-fascist activity. Struggle against those who deceived you, who take advantage of your simplicity and inexperience to strengthen the power of the factory owners and bankers against the working class and you yourselves.

Young Toilers!

For about two years the German fascists have kept in a dungeon the best fighter of the working class, the leader of the German proletariat, Comrade Ernst Thaelmann. The fascists cannot bring any charge against him except that he is a Communist. Fearing an even more despicable failure than in the trial of Dimitrov, Hitler and Goering are keeping Comrade Thaelmann in prison and torturing him.

We call on the toiling youth of all countries to rise in defence of Thaelmann.

Organise protest strikes, form committees of defence. Call meetings, organise demonstrations. Demand the immediate libera-

tion of Thaelmann! Demand the liberation of all the imprisoned anti-fascists.

The struggle for the freedom of Comrade Thaelmann is a matter of honour for every young proletarian!

German fascism and the world bourgeoisie are preparing the trial of Thaelmann, are preparing a new blow against the entire revolutionary movement of the proletariat!

For us Thaelmann is a banner of the anti-fascist struggle. Rally in the united front of struggle of the youth against fascism and in defence of Thaelmann.

We send the warmest greetings to our Thaelmann, the noble revolutionary, the bold fighter, the tried warrior for the liberation of the toiling youth from the yoke of fascism.

Young Workers and Collective Farmers in the U.S.S.R.!

The Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. calls on you to exert your creative forces still more to increase the power and strength and independence of the U.S.S.R. The youth of the whole world are watching your struggle and labour with admiration. They know that the Soviet Union is their only fatherland, the bulwark of the revolutionary forces of the entire proletariat. They are learning from you how to fight and to win. And the stronger the U.S.S.R., the stronger the power of the proletariat and the more it is convinced of its victory. Strengthen the defence of our fatherland, mobilise all your creative enthusiasm, your strength and knowledge for the successful fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan. Strengthen the power of the Red Army! Rally more closely around the Leninist Bolshevik Party and the leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin, the great helmsman of the world revolution!

Throughout the world there is only one country where there is no capitalist slavery, fascist terror, starvation, and poverty, where the bony hands of hunger do not stretch out to grip the throat of the worker, and where the terrible spectre of unemployment does not stand behind his back.

There is only one country which is truly and consistently fighting for peace between peoples, which is not trying to seize the land and colonies of others. This country is our great fatherland, the U.S.S.R. Our proletarian fatherland, through the will of the millions of the toilers of the U.S.S.R., led by the Party of Lenin and with the most direct support of the proletariat of all countries, has become the strongest and most powerful country in the world.

We have the right to be proud of this fatherland of the most advanced technique, socialist culture and free labour, the fatherland of the Chelyuskinites, the aviator heroes, the inventors of new technical ideas, of the great leaders of the proletariat.

And in face of the growing danger of an attack on the U.S.S.R. we swear to defend to the last drop of our blood this fatherland which belongs equally to the Russian proletariat, the fighters on the barricades of Vienna and the oppressed peoples of the colonies.

September 1 must be a day of powerful demonstrations of the working and toiling youth against war and fascism. We shall demonstrate our readiness to struggle, our hatred towards fascism.

Long live the fighting unity of the working youth!

Down with imperialist war!

Down with fascist terror!

We demand the liberation of Comrade Thaelmann and all the anti-fascists who have been thrown into prison, concentration camps and military camps.

Long live the proletarian revolution!

Long live Soviets throughout the world!

Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Slogans of the E.C.Y.C.I. for Twentieth International Youth Day

(1) Long live September First—the International Youth Day of Struggle against imperialist war, against fascism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism!

(2) Young workers, strengthen the unity of your ranks, join together in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against fascism!

(3) We can only win work, bread and freedom by unity in the struggle against the exploiters!

(4) Young socialists, together with the Y.C.L.ers, forge out iron unity with the toiling youth against fascism!

(5) Warmest revolutionary greetings to Comrade Thaelmann,

the leader of the German proletariat! Create a mighty united front of struggle of the toiling youth for his liberation!

(6) The liberation of Thaelmann from the bloody claws of Hitler and Goering is a matter of honour for the young workers and toilers of all countries!

(7) Young workers, struggle in the united front against those who rob you of your wages!

(8) Young proletarians! If you want to crush the fascist snake, create the iron unity of the toiling youth!

(9) Toiling youth! If you want to live freely, fascism must die!

(10) Down with slavish labour service! Turn the camps into revolutionary strongholds of struggle against fascism and war!

(11) Young workers and peasants, fascism is your deadly enemy!

(12) Young workers, if you want work, bread and freedom, join in the united front of struggle against fascism!

(13) Young workers of the colonies and oppressed nations! Raise higher the banner of struggle against the foreign and native oppressors!

(14) Young peasants, young farm workers! If you do not want to suffer the servitude of the landlords, starvation and want, join in the struggle against fascism!

(15) Toiling youth! If you do not want a new imperialist war, fight boldly against imperialism and fascism!

(16) Soldiers and sailors, if you do not want fratricidal imperialist war, struggle against the fascist war-mongers!

(17) The imperialists are preparing a new counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. Toiling youth, rise in defence of the country of victorious socialism!

(18) Expose the organisers and inciters of counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.—German fascists, the Japanese and British imperialists!

(19) Soldiers! Do not act against your brothers, the workers and peasants!

(20) Sailors! Follow the heroic examples set you!

(21) Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can liberate the youth from fascism, hunger and poverty. Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

(22) Down with the bloody fascist dictatorship of Hitler! Long live Soviet Germany!

(23) Down with the fascist dictatorship of Mussolini, Dollfuss, Pilsudski! Long live the international proletarian revolution!

(24) Down with chauvinism and nationalism! Long live proletarian internationalism!

(25) Young toilers! Only Communism can liberate you from social slavery and national oppression!

(26) Long live the U.S.S.R., the stronghold of the international proletarian revolution!

(27) Warmest greetings to Comrade Stalin, the leader of the proletariat and the oppressed of the whole world!

(28) Greetings to the workers' and peasants' government of the U.S.S.R.! Long live its policy of peace!

(29) Greetings to the Leninist Y.C.L. and the youth of the U.S.S.R., the shock brigade of the youth of the whole world!

(30) Long live the Communist International, the staff of the international proletarian revolution!

(31) Long live Comrade Dimitrov, the great proletarian revolutionary, the fearless fighter against fascism!

(32) Fighting greetings to the Y.C.L.ers of Germany, Poland, Italy, the courageous fighters against fascism!

(33) Long live the Y.C.L. of China, the most active helpers of the Communist Party in the struggle against imperialism and the bloody Kuomintang for Soviet China!

(34) Long live the Chinese Red Army! Toiling youth, defend the Soviet districts of China against Japanese and international imperialism!

(35) Revolutionary greetings to the Y.C.L.ers of Japan, who stand unshaken in the positions of proletarian internationalism!

(36) Fraternal revolutionary greetings to the members of the Schutzbund, the Y.C.L.ers, the working youth of Austria who fought nobly against fascism and the bourgeoisie!

(37) Toiling youth! Gather round the banner of Communism, round the flag of Lenin, join the ranks of the Y.C.L.!

(38) We lower our banners over the graves of the brave fighters for the proletarian revolution. Their blood calls us to the struggle!

The Balkans

The Situation in Bulgaria

INTENSIFIED CRISIS, BRUTAL TERROR, INCREASING MASS RESISTANCE

By D. Vlachov

The economic crisis in Bulgaria is taking on an ever-increasing intensity. The State finances are in a state of complete chaos. The military-fascist government is doing its best to conceal the fact that its finances are bankrupt. Big cuts are again being made in the State Budget on education, agriculture, public works, etc. The State revenues are declining although desperate efforts are being made to squeeze the last drop of blood out of the workers and peasants. The working hours of the State officials and other employees have been increased.

Since the establishment of the open military-fascist dictatorship economic life in Bulgaria has been in a state of stagnation. Industry is practically at a standstill and many big undertakings have closed their gates altogether. The number of workers still employed is decreasing rapidly and those who are still at work are mostly on short time. Despite the seasonal work of the summer unemployment has not diminished; 350,000 workers are on the streets and their number is steadily increasing. All building operations both in the towns and in the country districts are at a standstill.

The artisans and the small shopkeepers have almost no source of income because the masses cannot buy their goods or services. Business is almost at a standstill. Owing to the great feeling of insecurity all business deals are being held over as far as possible. Last year Bulgarian exports dropped by 30 per cent. as compared with the previous year. This year the drop has continued. The agricultural crisis is intensifying. The prices for agricultural commodities are lower now than they were even three months ago. The peasants are up to their eyes in debt and completely in the hands of the usurers. The result is that there is general discontent among the peasants as well as amongst the toiling masses in the towns. In order to stave off a rising the government was compelled to issue a law reducing debts and lengthening the periods of payment.

The impoverishment and misery of the working masses both in town and country have taken on catastrophic dimensions. Hunger is the permanent guest in all working-class and peasant homes. Discontent and anger are growing with every passing day. The brutal terror and repression exercised by the government is increasing the anger and indignation of the masses. The government is also attempting to check the revolutionary ferment by cunning manoeuvres and hypocritical promises. The bloody terror which is raging over Bulgaria is taking on forms which have not been experienced since the notorious year 1925. All the organisations of the workers, including the organisations of the women and the youth, the organisations of the national minorities and those of the immigrants (there are over seven hundred thousand emigrants and fugitives from Macedonia, Thrace, the Dobrudja, the Western frontiers, Zaribrod and Bossilegrad in Bulgaria) have been destroyed, their newspapers suppressed (over 50 newspapers have been suppressed) and all meetings, demonstrations and strikes have been prohibited.

The military-fascist government is now striving to destroy the revolutionary advance-guard of the working class and of the national-revolutionary movement by physical extermination. Murder, torture and maltreatment are daily occurrences. During the past month over 500 arrests have been made. Sixty workers were arrested in Sofia, including such well-known workers' leaders as Jacques Nathan, Marin Geshkov, Boris Bogdanov who has already spent many years in prison, Stephan Usunov and Marin Tcholakov. Six well-known working women, Sanka Ivanovna, Assia Georgieva, Stefanka Klintschrova and three others have again been arrested. In Plovdiv 130 workers and soldiers have been arrested. The government intends to try them for anti-militarist, anti-fascist and Communist propaganda. Many arrests of revolutionary workers have also taken place in Pleven, Lovetch, Ichi-

man, Dolna Banya and other Bulgarian towns. In Stara-Saragova six young anti-fascists were surprised at a session and immediately shot dead. At the Iskar railway station the well-known revolutionary worker Yorukov was murdered. In the Petritch district over 300 Macedonian workers, peasants and intellectuals have been arrested.

All these arrested men and women are being treated with the usual methods of the Bulgarian fascist inquisition, that is to say, they are being tortured and maltreated. One revolutionary worker, Marin Geshkov, was tortured by pouring hot fat into his ears. Other workers have had their limbs broken.

The former workers' and peasants' deputy and member of the central council of trade unions, Stamat Ivanov, is still in prison and the police are on the look-out for other leaders of working-class organisations.

New trials of revolutionary workers are about to take place in Sliven, Plovdiv and other towns. New and heavy sentences are feared.

Despite all the terrorist measures of the military-fascist dictatorship, the heroic resistance of the Bulgarian working-class and peasant masses is growing. The masses are now going over to the offensive. The ferment amongst the workers in the tobacco trades is very great and big struggles are expected. Two thousand railwaymen in Sofia have just completed a short strike against wage-cuts. As the result of the terrific repressive measures of the government the strike had to be broken off.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the only revolutionary organisation of the workers and peasants of Bulgaria, demonstrations and meetings are being held every day and constant collisions with the police are taking place. On August 1 the workers of Sofia organised flying demonstrations and meetings at the street corners and the streets were flooded with revolutionary literature. Despite the fact that the authorities succeeded in discovering two illegal printing works, the illegal revolutionary newspapers and leaflets are still appearing. The central organ of the Communist Party, "Rabotnicheski Vestnik," is appearing more punctually than it has since the beginning of the long period of illegality. Revolutionary slogans in prominent places on the walls and on the streets, on public buildings and on the walls of barracks, are appearing everywhere: "Down with the Fascist Dictatorship!" "Long live the Soviet Power!" "Down with Imperialist War!" And all this is done under what is practically a general state of martial law with military groups patrolling the streets day and night, and no Minister daring to show himself in public unless surrounded by a bodyguard.

The government of military-fascist dictatorship and war is sitting on a powder barrel. It feels that its power is threatened and it is striving to settle the deep differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie in order to establish a bourgeois united front against the revolutionary advance and to jockey the masses into a new war. Bulgaria's preparations for war are increasing and the military expenditure is rising. The military engineering works in Sofia have extended their operations. In other words, the preparations for war in Bulgaria are being carried on at full speed. Together with the material preparations for war the ideological preparations are also being intensified; the press, which is completely under government control, the wireless (likewise), patriotic meetings, State celebrations, the schools, the patriotic youth organisations, yellow unions for the workers, and commercial employees, the professional business men's organisations, the various fascist officers' and sports associations, in short, everything at the disposal of the government is being pressed into the service of war propaganda.

All the repressive measures of the government, the terror, the threats of war, etc., will not be able to crush the fighting spirit of the Bulgarian workers and peasants and of the toilers of the oppressed nationalities, who have been steeled by long years of revolutionary struggle, tradition and experience. The working masses of Bulgaria will continue their struggle to overthrow the bloody military-fascist dictatorship and establish the Soviet power of the workers and peasants throughout Bulgaria with still greater energy and enthusiasm.

The White Terror

Dimitrov Calls for the Rescue of the Bulgarian Soldiers Threatened With Death

Paris, August 22.

A mass trial of 150 Bulgarian soldiers is taking place at the present time before the military court in Philipopolis. The soldiers are accused of having taken part in the demonstrations on August 1. The accusation is based upon obvious provocations and false evidence of spies. The Public Prosecutor is demanding the death penalty for all the accused.

Five of the greatest champions of the Bulgarian and the international working class, with Dimitrov at the head, have issued an appeal to the working people of all countries and in particular to the millions who are marching in the ranks of the world movement against war and fascism.

The appeal states, *inter alia*:—

"The monstrous trial of the 150 soldiers is the continuation of the base campaign of slander, provocation and revenge against the best sons of the Bulgarian workers and peasants who are herded together in barracks. This campaign was commenced under the former government, which had already pronounced heavy sentences, including 80 death sentences, on 500 soldiers. The fascist military government, after having seized the State power, with the aid of bayonets and by deceiving the soldiers, after (following the example of Hitler) dissolving all parties and organisations of the workers and peasants, prohibiting their newspapers and suppressing every elected body, it is now robbing the workers and peasants of all political liberties and all means of legal struggle. It has already thrown hundreds of workers and peasants, courageous anti-fascists, into prison and subjected them to the most cruel torture. It is now turning its attention to the soldiers, bringing the most advanced section of them, those who have recognised the deception practised by the government, and do not wish to serve any longer as tools in the hands of the fascist executioners of the Bulgarian people, before the military court.

"This vile campaign of the resurrected Zankov regime calls forth profound indignation among the Bulgarian workers and peasants. It must also call forth passionate indignation among the workers and peasants, the honest intellectuals and the working people of all countries, who must defend the brave Bulgarian soldiers with all their might.

"In the name of the Bulgarian workers and peasants we address to the millions of fighters against fascism the appeal to set up the powerful world front of struggle against fascism and war in order to save the innocent victims of bloody Bulgarian fascism. The anti-fascist world front wrested Dimitrov, Tanev and Popov from the hands of the executioners in Hitler Germany. It must now save the lives of Thaelmann and Torgler and also the lives of the Bulgarian soldiers. It is necessary to act at once with the greatest energy by mobilising the broadest forces, for the Sofia hangmen intend to confront world public opinion with an accomplished fact."

The appeal is signed by Dimitrov, Tanev, Popov, Kolarov, and Iskrov.

THE INCREASING WAVE OF TERROR IN BULGARIA

Paris, August 27.

A letter arriving in Paris to-day from Sofia gives fresh alarming facts: The mass arrests continue all over the country. In Sofia 40 soldiers have been arrested. They are threatened with a court-martial and the death sentence. During the past week almost 100 workers and intellectuals have been arrested in Sofia alone, including Marin Geschkoff and other editors of the "Echo" and the "Workers' Cause." They are being brutally tortured.

A soldier known in his barracks as a Communist has been murdered by men sent by the military authorities. The Communist, Yurukoff, shot in the back and killed at the railway station in Iskar, turns out to have been a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

The police authorities request the government to give them a month in which to undertake further measures against the "conspirators." The number of arrests in the Petritsch and Plevan district has increased to over 400.

In the International

One Aim—One Party!

The Forthcoming Congress of the Communist Party of Austria

The following is taken from the new number, which has just appeared, of the Vienna "Rote Fahne," the central organ of the C.P. of Austria.—Ed.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria has decided to convene the Twelfth Congress of the Party (the date of the Congress, of course, cannot be announced). The Congress agenda is as follows:—

(1) The fight against fascism and the fight for the unity of the working class.

(2) The organisational tasks and the mass work of the C.P. of Austria.

(3) Elections.

The Twelfth Party Congress of the C.P. of Austria is of decisive importance for the whole of the Austrian workers. It is the first broad forum since the February fights at which the questions of the past, the lessons of the February fights, the present situation, and the further tasks of the proletariat for the victorious overthrow of capitalism and its fascist system will be discussed.

The events of July 25 have again revealed the depth of the capitalist crisis, the uncertainty of the situation on a national and international scale. While Austrian fascism, thanks to the false tactics of the social democracy, succeeded in defeating the heroic fighting workers in February, this "victory" of fascism has not brought any solution of the crisis of capitalism. Fascism, it is true, has succeeded in smashing the gigantic organisations of the social democracy, but it has not succeeded in winning the minds and hearts of the Austrian workers, who confront fascism as their deadly enemy. Fascism has not succeeded in smashing the revolutionary advance-guard of the proletariat, the Communist Party.

On July 25 the two fascist wings of the bourgeoisie engaged in an armed fight against each other. The fight ended with an unmistakable defeat of Nazi fascism and Hitler Germany. Nevertheless, Austrian capitalism has not been strengthened as a result of this victory. The antagonisms have become more acute; Heimwehr fascism, which is now throwing all its forces into the scale in order to emerge as the final victor, is again confronted with great difficulties. The antagonisms have become so acute that we must reckon not only with surprising turns, but also with a sudden going over to new armed fights and wars. On the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the imperialist slaughter of the peoples, Austria stood immediately before the commencement of a new war. Italian troops were concentrated on the Austrian frontier ready to march into the country, not to protect any "independence of Austria," but to commence a new world war.

The Austrian proletariat is confronted with great tasks. Clearly recognising the importance of the February fights, it has drawn the only correct lesson:—

The fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviet Austria, must be organised.

Fascism, however, will not disappear of itself. To believe that one should commence to fight for the overthrow of capitalism only after fascism has done for itself, means to surrender the workers to the fascist hangmen, to strengthen fascism. What do the government and the bourgeoisie need to-day? Their slogans are: Quiet, Order and Security. If we give them this quiet and order, then they will win time to arm afresh and strengthen themselves, to plan fresh blows against the workers.

The aim of fascism was to smash the workers' organisations. Under the slogan: "Do not let your organisations be smashed, no workers' organisation must be dissolved," the Communist Party placed itself at the head of the Austrian working class. Only an organised proletariat can offer serious resistance to fascism, can lead the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Heroically and with great sacrifices—many a good comrade has been murdered by the fascists, hundreds of functionaries were brutally beaten and thousands were incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps in this struggle, but unbroken revolutionary workers, under the leadership of the Communists, proceeded to build up their organi-

sations again. Hundreds of factory groups of the free trade unions were formed; the *Schutzbund*, which included the best part of the militant Austrian workers, was set up again, and even the Falcons (socialist pioneer organisation—Ed.) and the sportsmen were able in most cases to draw their organisation together again. But they have all learnt a lesson: in order to be able to fight successfully against fascism it is necessary to **break with reformism**. The Russian proletariat has shown us how one must fight and win!

A great change has taken place in the Austrian workers. Today there is only one aim: "**Dictatorship of the proletariat!**" Thousands of former social-democratic workers and *Schutzbundler* have become Communists or have placed themselves under the leadership of the C.P. Thousands of young workers have rallied round the flag of the Young Communist League! Thousands of social-democratic workers have joined the Red Aid. Persecuted and hunted down themselves, they are conducting and organising proletarian relief work for the persecuted, the imprisoned and their families.

From the depth of the workers came the cry for unity: "**For one aim—one party, against any splitting of the workers!**" Are disrupters at work? Every worker knows the attempts, emanating from Brunn and Zurich, not only to build up a new social-democratic party (under the pressure of the workers they have to recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat), but also to build up their own social-democratic organisations alongside of the same proletarian organisations which are being built up again.

We revolutionary workers, we Communists, do not want any split in the ranks of the workers. We want revolutionary unity in order to conduct the fights against fascism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Fascism has not only robbed the working class of its rights, it is beginning to reduce wages and increase prices in all parts of Austria. The number of unemployed in receipt of benefit has declined, because great masses have run out of benefit. Starvation, poverty, and misery prevail in our "beautiful Austrian fatherland."

We are fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but this fight is bound up with the **every-day fight for wages and bread**. The more strongly we organise and lead the resistance to all fascist attacks, the nearer we come to our aim. We must, however, go over from the defence to the attack. We demand and fight for higher wages, restoration of benefit to the unemployed who have run out of benefit, provision for our hungry children, work, bread, and power.

"In particular, the Communist Party and the whole of the advanced proletariat must in every way support, in a sacrificing manner, the broad elementary movement of the mass strike, which under the yoke of capital is alone able really to rouse the masses, to bring them into movement, to enlighten them, to organise them and waken in them complete confidence in the leading role of the revolutionary proletariat. Without such a preparation the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible." (Lenin.)

This is the task confronting the Austrian proletariat to-day. At the same time a relentless struggle must be conducted in the ranks of the working class against all enemies of the workers. There can be no pacts concluded with the class enemy. Whoever is ready to-day to negotiate with the executioners of Weissl, Muenichreiter and Gerl is a criminal against the proletariat, and helps to prolong the life of capitalism and supports fascism. In whose name did members of the central committee of the socialist party negotiate with the government people on July 26? No revolutionary worker offers fascism even his little finger; we show it our clenched fist.

We want revolutionary unity. The Thirteenth Party Congress of the C.P. of Austria will be marked by revolutionary unity and rallying of the revolutionary forces. We want to organise the fight for the overthrow of fascism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the Party Congress the united revolutionary proletariat is to speak and to decide.

Discuss the Party Congress in all organisations, in the factories, everywhere. Organise the election of delegates, especially you, social democratic worker, must decide. You want unity? Set it up!

You revolutionary socialists also send your delegates! One aim—one fight—one Party—the Bolshevik Mass Party!

The Role of the Communist Party in the Struggle of the Masses of Catalonia

By Pedro Ardiaca (Barcelona)

Many factors, among which must be emphasised above all the hatred of the toiling masses of Catalonia for fascism and imperialist war, are interwoven and combine in the strengthening of the fight of the masses of the people of Catalonia for social and national emancipation.

It is no accident that the "Left" and the majority of the parties which form the government coalition in Catalonia, whilst they in deed defend all activities of the fascists against the hatred of the masses of the people, at the same time use the most unbridled demagogy, and, if they are speaking to workers and peasants, pose as the most furious anti-fascists. This has gone so far that on April 29 they organised a demonstration, which they called "anti-fascist," while at the very same time they caused a demonstration to be dispersed with shooting, which had been organised by the Communist Party of Catalonia. Nevertheless, if the dispersal of the second demonstration through the forces of the Generalidad exposed the demagogic character with which the leaders of the above-mentioned demonstration organised it, the fact that thousands of workers and peasants came from all over Catalonia to Barcelona, in order to take part in it, shows clearly how the hatred against fascism is an essential part of the fighting spirit of the masses, who without doubt did not come so much to place themselves at the disposal of the "Lefts" as to hold a counter-demonstration to the fascist demonstration in Escorial on the previous Sunday, which demonstration, however, was broken up by the anti-fascist mobilisation of the Spanish workers and peasants who followed the fighting slogans of the Communist Party of Spain.

Even so it is necessary to remember that at that time the "Lefts," when they wanted to obtain the adoption of their statute by means of a vote of the masses of the people of Catalonia, did not simply explain what the statute represented, but used in a demagogic way the anti-imperialist spirit of the masses and treacherously promised that, by adopting the statute, Catalonian soldiers would not need to go to Africa, but would be used for service in Catalonia itself.

Nevertheless, the Catalonian workers and peasants soon discovered that in spite of the statute they had to go to Africa just as before. These facts, together with the continual deception with which the people were always being faced by the Liberals, were used in the November elections to the Spanish Parliament by the "*Liga Catalana*," the fascist party of *Cambo*, which works in agreement with *Gil Robles* in Catalonia. The broad masses of the people reacted to the victory of the *Liga* in Catalonia and of the fascist and semi-fascist "rights" in Spain. They threw themselves once more into the arms of the "Left coalition," owing to the lack of a strong Communist Party which would have been able to give direction to their efforts, and two months later the *Liga* suffered a defeat in the municipal elections in Catalonia.

Meanwhile, the young Communist Party of Catalonia, in spite of all difficulties, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Spain, began to place itself at the head of the struggle for the social and national emancipation of Catalonia, by overcoming all weaknesses, increasing its influence and winning new positions by systematic work. Its first Congress last May, which had a success even exceeding the hopes of members of the Party, strengthened its belief in its own forces and in the correctness of its political line, and showed at the same time to the Catalonian proletariat the actual existence of the Party which will lead it to its full emancipation.

Certainly its enemies also recognise the growing influence of the Communist Party and take their measures against it. Already on July 14, when the groups of the adherents of the Generalidad held a meeting before the Catalonian Parliament, to which thousands of workers and peasants came, and which had as its purpose the holding back of the masses of the people of Catalonia, who wanted to go into the fight against the attacks of the government of *Semper*, it was the president of the Generalidad himself, *Companys*, who warned the masses "against those who wanted to divert them from the path" on which the "Lefts" were leading them. It is natural that, since all the bourgeois forces were united, and the socialist leaders, just as the renegades of the "Block" and the Trotskyists openly supported the Generalidad, and the

anarchist leaders were uninterested in the "problem," these words of *Companys* were directed only against the Communist Party. The Party, however, at its Congress, had already laid down its independent position with regard to the organisation of the fight against Spanish imperialism, which had to be led by united front committees at the place of work, and for a Soviet Constitution. The Communist Party held a demonstration which united numbers of workers of different tendencies together with non-party workers, and which was greeted by hundreds of workers who came from the above-mentioned demonstration.

In spite of the influence of the anarchists, whose leaders have always fought the Soviet Union, the Catalonian proletariat shows a great interest in the success of the building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union. This was to be seen from the success of the meeting of the "Friends of the Soviet Union," when on July 21 in Barcelona the great hall of the Kursaal was filled with people who wanted to hear what the Spanish delegates, who were in the Soviet Union on May 1, would report.

On the other hand, the fight of the small peasants for the harvest and for the land, which until to-day through the "*Union de los Rabbaesaires*" (small tenants) gave the "Lefts" a real force, is taking on a genuine mass character. Now they have issued a call of protest against the vacillating position of the Generalidad. The Communists from the first had predicted these vacillations.

Proceeding from all these concrete facts, the Communist Party of Catalonia is on the way to win the confidence and the support of large masses and to place itself at the head of all struggles.

The Communist Party had the greatest success in the *Thaelmann* campaign. Thousands of workers and peasants joined with it in a united front of Communists and Anarchists, members of the Block and Socialists, Republicans and non-party people, who signed their names to countless letters and telegrams to the German consulate in Barcelona, in which they demanded the release of Comrade Thaelmann and all anti-fascists. In the same way the release of *Paula Wallisch* and *Rakosi* was also demanded.

The success of this campaign expresses in the best way the efforts of the Communist Party to give the will to unity of the masses an organised form, in which they have already had success by the formation of united committees in *Barcelona*, *Tarragona*, *Reus*, etc., against war and fascism. At the present time, on the occasion of International Anti-War Day, the Communist Party has begun a great campaign of meetings. This campaign will give the Communist Party of Catalonia the possibility of strengthening its position and winning new masses, particularly in the countryside. The peasants are turning, in many cases spontaneously, to the Communists and asking for their advice and for revolutionary slogans, as in *Lerida* and *Tarragona*.

Following the experience and example of the Communist Party of Spain, the Communist Party of Catalonia, which has much leeway to make up, will, through the strengthening of every form of activity, particularly trade union activity in the C.N.T. in which the majority of the Catalonian proletariat are to be found, prove its ability to become a mass Party which is able to organise Soviets in Catalonia and to form the Catalonian Soviet Republic.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Where the Working Class Fixes Taxation

By L. F. Boross.

Having received numerous inquiries from our readers concerning the system of taxation prevailing in the Soviet Union and concerning the differences between the system of taxation prevailing in the Soviet Union and the system prevailing in capitalist countries, we asked our Moscow correspondent to give us an article on these points.—Ed. "Inprecorr."

1. THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE

The fundamental difference between the tax policy of the Soviet Union and the tax policy of the capitalist countries may be summed up in a sentence: In the capitalist countries the bourgeoisie imposes taxes in its interests, whilst in the Soviet Union the working class imposes taxes in its interests and in the interests of all other toilers.

From this fundamental difference results the differences in the construction of the two systems.

In the very beginning we see a tremendous difference in the role played by taxation in the revenue of the State. In the capitalist countries the State revenue consists, up to four-fifths and more, of taxation revenues. We have the necessary figures for the budgetary year 1930-31. According to these figures the revenues of the British government were 88 per cent. from taxation, the French government also 88 per cent., the government of the United States 85 per cent., and the government of Germany 91 per cent.

Let us compare this with the situation in the Soviet Union. The government revenues in the Soviet Union for the current year will be approximately 49 milliard roubles, but of this tremendous sum only approximately 2.5 milliard roubles are accounted for by taxation revenue, or hardly 5 per cent. of the total State budget. The chief source of income at the disposal of the proletarian State is the **income from the socialist economic undertakings**.

The State factories and economic undertakings use a part of their income for their own current needs and for the extension of production. The remaining part of their income they deliver up to the State treasury, and this amounts to 84 per cent. of the total State revenue. The fixing of this revenue takes place from two angles, according to the net profit and according to turnover. This must be mentioned because, for want of a better

expression, the payments made to the State treasury by the various undertakings according to their turnover are known as the turnover tax. Apart from the name, however, this tax has nothing in common with the hated turnover tax known to the masses of the consumers in many capitalist countries. In capitalist countries the turnover tax is a convenient means for extracting large sums from the pockets of the poorest sections of the population to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. In capitalist countries this tax is passed on to the consumers by the capitalist undertakings, and thus plays the role of an indirect and supplementary wage-cut.

The institution known in the Soviet Union as the turnover tax is in reality nothing but a method of calculation inside the State economic system. In this way the proletarian State exercises a control over the quantitative achievements of its own industrial, agricultural and trade organisations, whilst the profit payments afford a control over the efficiency of the business administration. The amount obtained from these forms of payment to the State treasury is increasing from year to year, and it remains completely within the sphere of the national economic system, that is to say, within the framework of the activity from which it springs. It is reapportioned inside this framework according to the planned tasks to be performed for the time being. The imposition of these payments, therefore, has not to be passed on to the shoulders of someone else. In any case, in the Soviet Union they could not be passed on to the shoulders of the consumers because the proletarian State regulates not only wages, but also prices according to a definite plan.

The following impositions alone can be regarded as taxes properly speaking, and even then various modifications will have to be made later in our article concerning them:

- (a) The **income tax** imposed on the urban population;
- (b) The **agricultural tax** imposed on the collective farms considered as economic units;
- (c) The agricultural tax imposed on the **members of the collective farms** and on the individual peasants; and
- (d) The taxes imposed for **housing and cultural purposes**.

In addition to the above may be mentioned the voluntary tax imposed by the villages on themselves for local economic and

cultural activities. This latter tax is not touched by the State.

However, even these few taxes are similar to the taxation imposed in capitalist countries, only in their form and not in their essence. In the Soviet Union the revenue from these taxes is not used to maintain a State apparatus to hold the masses of the people in subjection, and it is also not used to give subsidies to bankrupt capitalist undertakings. This revenue serves solely to finance the work of socialist construction and to defend it against the external and internal class enemies of the proletariat and the toiling masses. A glance at the expenditure side of the Soviet State budget will quickly assure us of this.

Out of 47.5 milliard roubles, which appear on the expenditure side of the Soviet State budget for 1934, 2.75 milliards are devoted to proletarian State administration and to the maintenance of the workers and peasants Red Army. The remaining gigantic sum is completely devoted to economic, cultural and social purposes, or in other words, to the raising of the well-being of the working masses.

The most obvious external difference in the tax systems of the Soviet Union and of the capitalist countries is the difference to be observed when we examine who pays the taxes and in what proportion the taxes are imposed. In the Soviet Union the tax system proves to be a valuable weapon of the Soviet power against the remnants of the bourgeoisie. Taxation on similar incomes in the Soviet Union vary considerably, according to whether the person taxed is a worker or not. The nearer his class situation approximates to that of the worker, the less he is taxed, whilst, on the other hand, the remnants of the bourgeoisie and other parasitic elements are made to feel what it means when the working class fixes taxes and not the bourgeoisie. However, it is not merely a case of the working class seizing the weapon of taxation formerly directed against itself and then turning it against the bourgeoisie. There is much more behind it. The bourgeoisie cannot live without the proletariat, because it draws its surplus value exclusively from the proletariat. The taxation policy of the bourgeoisie is therefore directed to still further exploiting and impoverishing the working masses, but not to exterminating the latter. On the other hand, however, the proletariat does not need the bourgeoisie, and therefore its taxation policy is not directed towards plundering the bourgeoisie, but towards exterminating the remnants of the bourgeoisie as a class and completing the building up of a classless society.

2. WHAT TAXES ARE IMPOSED ON THE URBAN POPULATION?

Income tax in the Soviet Union and also the taxes imposed for housing and cultural purposes are graded strictly according to class considerations.

First of all there is a fairly high income allowed to workers and clerical employees and those organised in the working co-operatives, which is completely free from all taxation. This income which is tax-free is fixed for the proletarian elements in the big towns at 115 roubles a month. In other towns it is somewhat lower, according to the living conditions and prices prevailing. Freed from all forms of taxation are commanders and men of the Red Army, persons living on social pensions, all persons who took an active part in the civil war on the side of the proletariat, those persons especially decorated for heroism or other great services to the cause of socialism, etc. And, further, all students whose monthly stipends are not more than 175 roubles.

With regard to those categories who do pay taxes, the lowest tax grade is that for workers and clerical employees, and for all other persons who are in the same social category. This includes in particular the students, who are for the most part the sons and daughters of workers, etc. The Soviet Union is the only country in the world where facilities for study are not the privilege of an exploiting class. In the Soviet Union there are no high fees which bar the children of the workers and peasants from pursuing their studies, but the State and the labour unions grant comparatively high stipends for the support of the students whilst they are studying. The taxation policy of the Soviet Union deliberately supports the educational possibilities of the sons and daughters of the proletariat, and grants students an even higher tax-free income than it does to the workers themselves.

Persons placed in the same tax category as workers and clerical employees are: Home workers, etc., organised in the co-operatives, authors, etc., who live on payments from publishing houses, etc., without having any fixed contract, defending lawyers in the courts, providing their income does not exceed the sums fixed by the

association of defending lawyers, doctors employed at hospitals by the health insurance authorities, etc.

The taxes paid by the persons range from 0 per cent. on an income below 115 roubles a month up to 6 per cent. on an income exceeding 500 roubles a month. This scale of income tax includes all tax impositions, including the payments for housing and cultural activities.

Those authors who receive payments from publishing houses, according to a fixed contract, pay a higher rate of income tax.

The next tax category consists of those persons who pursue their occupations without being organised in the productive co-operatives, providing they do not employ wage labour. This category includes doctors living on their private practices and, with minor variations, all persons living from the result of their own labour, so far as they are not wage earners, for instance, small market gardeners, etc. Their tax payments vary according to their annual incomes. Tax payments are fixed from 5 per cent. on an annual income not exceeding 1,000 roubles, up to 35 per cent. on annual incomes exceeding 20,000 roubles.

The taxes payable by persons employing one or two wage labourers are somewhat higher.

As we have seen, those persons working on their own account who have joined productive co-operatives and have thereby lined themselves up in the prevailing social forms of production in the Soviet Union enjoy special tax privileges, and such persons represent the overwhelming majority of all persons working on their own account. A person belonging to a productive co-operative pays not quite 4 per cent. on a monthly income of 250 roubles, or not quite 10 roubles. A person similarly occupied, but not a member of a productive co-operative pays 9.4 per cent. tax, or about 24 roubles. The higher the income rises the greater the difference in taxation rates becomes. This system of taxation aims at uniting all persons working on their own account into the technically and organisationally more efficient co-operatives, and also at preventing the growth of any new capitalist exploiting class from amongst the ranks of such persons who might enrich themselves at the expense of both the masses of the workers and the masses of other such persons.

The remnants of the capitalist elements are taxed on an incomparably higher scale than workers and other persons living on their own labour. Business men and employers who have more than two wage labourers working for them, persons who live on income apart from social pensions, etc., persons who live on income from the practice of a religious office, etc., pay far more than other categories.

The taxation imposed on these exploiting and parasitic elements begins at 18.2 per cent., and at a much lower level than is tax-free for workers and similar categories, namely, 85 roubles a month. On an income of 250 roubles a month such elements must pay 32.5 per cent. taxation, or 85 roubles. That is over eight times as much as a worker, etc., would pay on the same income.

On a monthly income of 1,000 roubles they must pay 826 roubles in taxation, or 82.6 per cent. In effect, therefore, it no longer pays to obtain a large income by exploiting others, for the State immediately takes by far the greater proportion of it away. When, on the other hand, an engineer or a member of a productive co-operative earns 1,000 roubles a month by honest labour, for instance, a first-class shock brigade worker can often earn 1,000 roubles a month, then only 60 roubles is paid out in taxes.

A person with capitalist inclinations who succeeds in earning, say, 1,600 roubles a month out of the labour of others in the Soviet Union, is in a still worse position. In such a case the tax official takes the whole income at one fell swoop. With an income earned in this fashion and amounting to 2,500 roubles a month the taxation authorities demand 116 per cent., or, in other words, the total income and a share of the capital used to obtain it. It is clear, therefore, that the taxation policy of the Soviet Government is also pursued according to the principle: he who does not work, neither shall he eat. The result is that should anyone attempt to exploit the few gaps which the still existing though inconsiderable private commodity circulation has left in the building of the socialist economic system, then he would find himself face to face immediately with the impenetrable wall of the proletarian taxation policy.

3 THE TAX LIABILITIES OF THE AGRARIAN POPULATION

The taxes imposed on agriculture are also graded according to class considerations, and are intended to further the task of the socialist reorganisation of the Soviet village.

The collective farms and their members are least burdened by taxes, but in this connection there are certain variations from the tax system in force in the urban districts. Above all, the taxes imposed on the collective farms are not progressive. They are fixed not according to the actual income, but according to the possible income. Given in each case the same area, the same quality of the land, the same equipment and with all other objective circumstances equal a collective farm with a comparatively low income pays exactly the same taxes as another collective farm with a larger income. Why? Because in each case the income depends exclusively on the quality of the work performed. The collective peasants are the master of their own farm. The proletarian State offers them all the same possibilities and the same effective support for good work. The equality of taxation is therefore a reward for good work and an inexorable punishment for poor work. In addition, collective farms which put up a good performance in the fulfilment of their obligations enjoy special taxation privileges. Although by their very favourable performance itself they obtain a larger income, they also receive a tax rebate of 25 per cent. The aim of the Soviet power is to make all the collective farms prosperous, and therefore it would not be advisable to hem their forward march on the way to well-being by imposing progressive taxation.

The collective farm is taxed as an economic unit. The individual members of the collective farms pay no taxes on the income they derive from the farms. In addition they enjoy certain taxation facilities with regard to that private income which they may otherwise earn. A member of a collective farm can keep cattle and sell his products on the market free of all taxation. He pays taxes only when he farms outside the collective as well or pursues any other occupation which brings him in an income. However, even such incomes are completely exempted from taxation if in the family of the man in question there is a member of the Red Army, someone who took an active part in the civil war on the side of the proletariat, or someone who suffered injury at the hands of the class enemy in the struggle for the socialist transformation of agriculture. This privilege is enjoyed by the families of all those collective peasants who were murdered by the Kulaks for their share in building up the collective system.

On the other hand, the taxation imposed on the individual peasants is progressive. The greater their income the greater the rate at which they are taxed. Here also we observe a great difference between the taxation system in the Soviet Union and the taxation system in almost all capitalist countries. In many capitalist countries, Germany, for instance, the tax per area grows smaller the larger the farm in question is. Thus the large landowners pay much less per unit for their land than do the poor and middle peasants. In the capitalist countries the taxation system furthers the expropriation and impoverishment of the poor peasants and the increase of the profits of the estate owners and rich peasants. In the capitalist countries the poor peasants are kept poor in order to assure the landowners and rich peasants of a sufficient supply of cheap labour-power.

In the Soviet Union the taxation system aims at completing expropriation of the capitalist elements and preventing the development of new capitalist elements from amongst the ranks of the individual peasants and preventing the exploitation of wage-labour.

A fairly considerable section of the individual peasants in the Soviet Union, however, enjoys complete or partial freedom from taxation. A decision of the local village Soviet is sufficient to free poor peasants from all taxation. Waste land brought under the plough is free of all taxation, for the sowing of various technical cultures and agricultural raw materials for industry is of great importance for the development of socialist industry.

Where a peasant has children or other dependants who are for some reason or other incapable of work, he receives a tax rebate ranging from 5 to 30 per cent., according to his situation. Those individual peasants who have or have had members of the family serving in the Red Army, or who have members of the family who took part in the civil war on the side of the proletariat, enjoy very considerable tax facilities. The relatives of all peasants who were killed in the struggle against the Kulaks and rich landowners, or who lost their lives as foresters protecting the property of the socialist State, enjoy complete freedom from all taxes. The agricultural supplementary income of all workers and clerical employees is completely tax-free; for instance, where they keep a cow or sell some of the produce of their vegetable gardens, etc. Further, all peasants who adopt orphan children are freed of all taxes for a period of three years.

The above represent only a few of the numerous privileges which are enjoyed, not only by the collective peasants, but also by the working individual peasants provided they live from their own labour and do not employ wage-labour. On the other hand, those rich peasants who employ wage-labour, who systematically occupy themselves with speculation and intermediary trading, and also those well-to-do peasants who whilst not employing wage-labour deliberately sabotage the governmental delivery and sowing plans, feel the heavy weight of the proletarian taxation policy. Such elements pay 35 per cent. in taxation on an annual income of no more than 1,000 roubles, and 53 per cent. on an income of 6,000 roubles annually. Where the annual income of such elements exceed 6,000 roubles they must pay 70 per cent. in taxes.

In principle, therefore, the taxation system in the rural areas is similar to that prevailing in the towns. It furthers with all possible means the forward march of all sections of the toilers to well-being along the path of socialist economic forms. There are not a few collective peasant farmers who earn an income of 6,000 roubles annually. Such elements pay 35 per cent. in taxation on an annual income and even more than that. They pay no taxes at all on such income, whilst the parasitic and exploiting element would have to pay from 50 to 70 per cent. of such an income away in taxation.

The taxation policy of the workers' State treats the individual peasants as future members of the collective farms, and deals considerably with them. However, it sternly puts up a barrier to the development of the individual peasant farms into exploiting capitalist undertakings by imposing progressive taxation upon them, taxation which begins very low, and in many cases is not imposed at all, but then gradually rises to 53 per cent. in the case of large incomes. The individual peasant in the Soviet Union can live decently on the fruits of his labour, and he receives considerable support from the workers' State whilst he is doing so, but he has no hope and no possibility of ever becoming an exploiter of labour and thus achieving prosperity that way. The way to well-being is open to him at any time, but it leads through the collective farm, and he takes this course sooner or later according to how well the collective farms in his neighbourhood are working and how well their members are living. By comparing his own life with the lives of the members of a good working collective farm the individual peasant is beginning to realize more and more that the well-being that he can reach with his own unaided efforts, even in a country like the Soviet Union, which gives the individual peasants everything that a capitalist State could possibly offer them in the way of assistance and support, is not very great, and that the way to real well-being is through the unification of his forces with the forces of his fellow peasants within the framework of the collective farm.

Letters From the Soviet Union

(II.) THE ICE FLOE NEWSPAPER

"No, comrade, you mustn't take it with you. It is the only copy existing in the world. But if you would like to have a look at it, you will be undisturbed here."

With these words a colleague in the editorial rooms of the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" pressed into my hands a portfolio and a roll of paper. The contents looked like old parchment, yet they were documents scarcely three months old. Sheets of paper with pencil writing, pasted on to a piece of wallpaper (or something similar).

An indescribable feeling of physical contact with one of the greatest historical events of our time emanates from these rolled sheets, a feeling strengthened when they are unfolded and the neat heading—written only with the aid of a coloured pencil—in the left upper corner appears:—

"We shall not capitulate.

"Organ of the Party Cell of the C.P.S.U. and of the Ship's Council of the 'Chelyuskin.'

"Chukotic Sea, drifting ice floe,
"17th February, 1934."

On 17th February, four days after the catastrophe, the first number of the "Expedition Newspaper" was published on the drifting ice floe.

Drifting ice! Constant danger to life! A shipwreck just survived! Thirty degrees below zero! Everything conspires to shake the composure of even the most courageous heroes. But the Chelyuskiners did not permit themselves to be conquered by threatening death; they forced life to serve them. That the newspaper was posted up on the tent wall on the fourth day after the

catastrophe shows that the "Ice Floe Cell" of the C.P.S.U. and of the Expedition Council probably took up the work of publication immediately after the shipwreck.

After years of editorial work, an editor makes certain reflex movements automatically. If he takes up a new newspaper for the first time, for instance, he looks involuntarily for the name of the responsible editor and similar editorial details. I laughed at myself on this occasion, catching myself at this habit. But I speedily observed that I had laughed unnecessarily. For at the close of the "Ice Floe Newspaper" all these statements were made in perfect order:—

Responsible editor: I. Bayevski. Editorial Board: Semyonov, Mironov, Reshetnikov, Filippov.

Even in such details the Chelyuskiners followed exactly the laws and customs of their socialist fatherland.

The leading article of the first number was written by C. J. Schmidt himself. The following is the exact wording:—

"ON THE ICE"

"We are on the ice. But here, too, we are citizens of the great Soviet Union. Here, too, we shall keep the flag of the Soviet Republics flying. And our State will take care of us. We may be fully confident that our rescue will be undertaken with Bolshevik energy, and will be accomplished rapidly and successfully. During the catastrophe the whole collective of the 'Chelyuskin' has shown unprecedented resolution, discipline, and organisation. And we shall continue our work as we have begun. The whole world is looking at us. Let us show it how citizens of the Soviet Union can work, even in such an extraordinary position, under the leadership of the government and of the Communist party.

"SCHMIDT."

The introductory words of the editors are filled with the same self-reliance and the same faith in the Soviet power and the Party:—

"The 'Chelyuskin' has ceased to exist. It is lying at the bottom of the sea. But the work of socialist research of the Northern sea passage continues, and will be completed.

"This newspaper, published in such an unusual situation, in a tent on a drifting ice floe, on the fourth day after the sinking of the 'Chelyuskin,' is a proof of our confidence. In the whole history of Polar disasters, we know but few examples where such a large and multifarious collective has met the moment of deadly danger with such a degree of organisation, and where the leaders have shown such courageous and determined energy at such a moment.

"Now we are on the drifting ice. . . . This does not mean, however, that we are alone. The millions of the toiling masses of all countries are watching us with hope and enthusiasm. The Soviet government is doing everything required to ensure our rescue. And nobody can doubt but that it has adequate means at its disposal."

Among the other contributions emphasising the tasks of the collective, we find an artistically executed drawing by the artist **Reshetnikov**: primitive tents in the foreground, with a well-built barracks behind them, and the cheerful title: "We are building a palace to replace the huts."

The second number published on 20th February, and the third number, dated 18th March, bear witness to the definite constructive work of the camp and of the party. They contain wireless news about the Soviet Union and foreign countries, a chronicle of camp life, articles on building activities on the ice floe. We read a critical feuilleton by **A. Boni** on the waste of fuel, accompanied by the editorial footnote: "Comrade Boni's feuilleton describes a shortcoming which has already been done away with." We read further that the women celebrated the International Women's Day by making forty pairs of warm gloves.

Of course it would be wrong to suppose that the admirable discipline and co-operation of the ice floe collective came by itself, by "divine grace," so to speak. The unifying and driving power, the "organiser" of the miracle, was the Bolshevik Party, here as everywhere in the Soviet Union. The members of the Party were fully conscious of their duties and tasks from the first moment of the disaster. Their ideological and organisational work during the months of the voyage of the "Chelyuskin" was itself one of the prerequisites of the collective heroism shown on the ice floe.

In the first number the Party Cell appeals to the Communists. It calls upon them to set an example, **not to permit** any rumours, any panic, any privileges, any preferential treatment. The Com-

munists must always be one with the masses. The Communists are reminded of their responsibility to the whole Party for every one of their deeds on the ice floe.

"The Party will judge us Communists by the whole of our work, but especially by our work on the ice floe. We must fight for and secure the approval of our Party, the greatest honour for every Communist."

In the second number the Party urges that educational work should be resumed:—

"It is high time to take up educational work again, and to utilise the time more productively. It is true that there is a shortage of paper and writing materials, but this need not prevent us from improving our knowledge, from giving and hearing lectures on general educational subjects: geography, history, natural sciences, foreign languages, etc. We have no right to be lazy and to waste valuable time, especially as we have so much leisure here for learning, more than we shall ever have on the mainland."

In the third number the Party already issues an interim balance-sheet of its work.

"... On the ice the Party Cell took up the work of studying the reports given by Comrades Stalin and Molotov (at the Seventeenth Party Congress, L.F.B.), transmitted by wireless during the voyage of the 'Chelyuskin.' Three lectures were given on the Chukote district (Comrade Komov), and three on the economic situation and development of the Mongolian people (Bayevski); Comrade Schmidt's lectures on dialectical materialism are being continued regularly (five lectures up to the present); reports have been given and meetings held in connection with the Day of the Red Army (23rd February), the International Women's Day (8th March), the anniversary of the overthrow of tsarism (12th March), and the day of the Paris Commune (18th March)."

The organisational work of the Party Cell is then described in detail: A large number of humorous cartoons and critically satirical descriptions of the characteristics of the individual inhabitants of the ice floe almost make the reader forget where the newspaper appeared.

The inhabitants of the ice floe never lost their good spirits for a moment. The wireless operator **Krenkel** relates the following episode:—

One day he received a wireless message from an enterprising British publisher, addressed to "Drifting ice floe, for Schmidt." The publisher offered Schmidt to make an agreement in advance for the publication of his memoirs, and asked for reply by telegraph. An animated discussion resulted on the floe as to the reply to be sent, and finally Schmidt sent off the following telegram:—

"Agree to all conditions. Fetching manuscript from floe your affair. Schmidt."

The last number, which I had also the opportunity of seeing, bears an altered title:—

"We have not capitulated."

This number was published after the rescue, on 1st May at Cape Wellen. The rescued collective looked back with pride on its two months' work, and with equal pride on the heroism of the air fleet of the Soviet Union, to which it owed its rescue.

The following notable article is devoted to the 1st May:—

"The Day of Proletarian Solidarity."

"We Chelyuskiners have experienced proletarian solidarity in practical experience. We have felt it in our rescue from the grip of the ice. The first international proletarian State of the world has saved a handful of its members at an expenditure of effort and means which no single capitalist State would ever have been able to accomplish. And here on the mainland, already rescued, awaiting our departure to our places of work, we still owe our lives to the socialist system of our country. Here in the farthest North we still feel ourselves members of the united family of the workers' State. Long live 1st May, the festival of the solidarity of the toiling masses of all countries."

Another point which strikes the reader of this number. Scarcely were the Chelyuskiners saved from the ice floe, when they commenced to work, not only for themselves, but for the whole of their new environment. This may be observed in a number of critical remarks, and of economic, technical, and organisational comments, giving advice to the workers and Soviet organisations at Cape Wellen,

The Week in the Soviet Union

The Soviet Youth and the Harvest

The Young Pioneers mobilised their organisations all over the Soviet Union to assist in the harvest and to glean in the fields behind the harvesters. The harvest campaign saw many wonderful examples of youthful enthusiasm and youthful determination to take part in the work and be of the greatest possible assistance. In the Paritchansk district of the Dniepropetrovsk area the young pioneers saved 1,000 double cwts. of grain by their gleaning. In many collective farms the best gleaners were given premiums. The young pioneers also took their turn in guarding the grain against theft.

The Young Communist Leninist League naturally also mobilised its members in the rural areas all over the Soviet Union to assist in the harvesting campaign and many young Communists did fine Bolshevik work at the threshing machines. The young Communists regarded their part in the harvest as part of the preparations for the International Day of Youth on September 1.

Collective Peasants Have Bigger Incomes

In many districts it is already possible to calculate the income of the members of the collective farms. On August 10 the collective farm "Comintern" in the Asov-Black Sea district completed its grain deliveries to the State and also its deliveries in kind to the machine and tractor station. The seed grain for next year has already been set aside. It has now been calculated that about 6.5 kilograms of grain fall to each unit for each working day. Over and above this there are potatoes and other agricultural products to be distributed. On this collective farm 90 per cent. of the members have a cow of their own and each member possesses from two to three pigs. Formerly only 1.6 kilograms of grain was the quota for each unit per working day. This model collective farm has many institutions of cultural and other value attached to it, including a Kindergarten, a bathing pool and a recreation park.

In the Luxemburg district (Dniepropetrovsk area) there are collective farms in which no less than eight kilograms of grain per working day fall to the share of each peasant, as compared with five kilograms last year. Individual shock brigade workers will receive as much as ten kilograms a day.

The International Day of Youth

On August 22 a conference of 2,500 active members of the Moscow Party organisation took place and dealt principally with the approaching International Day of Youth. Comrade *Kaganovitch* delivered the chief speech and was followed by the secretary of the Young Communist Leninist League, *Kossarov*, Comrades *Manuilski*, *Aroshev* and *Stassova* took part in the discussion.

Large-Scale Gramophone Production

The first gramophone factory in the Soviet Union, which was opened in 1929 in Leningrad, produced 44,000 gramophones in the first seven months of this year. The works are now being reorganised and extended so that they will have an annual capacity of 250,000 machines.

A new big gramophone and needle works is being built in Vladimir in order to satisfy the clamorous demand for gramophones in the Soviet Union. The new works will have an annual output capacity of 600,000 machines and 4.5 milliard needles. The Leningrad factory "Krasnaya Gvosdilschtchik" is now supplying the highly-tempered springs which were previously imported from abroad.

A new gramophone works is also being built in Kolomna. This works will have an annual capacity of 250,000 machines a year and will produce the very latest types.

International Diesel Motor Competition

The Soviet authorities have organised an important technical competition for Diesel motors. The competition is open to all comers. The first stage of the competition has now been concluded. A train of lorries fitted with Diesel motors has just returned to Moscow after a gruelling journey from the capital to Tiflis and back. The lorries covered the distance in 32 days and their control instruments showed that they had travelled 5,162 kilometres. The journey proved the practicability of the mass production of lorries fitted with Diesel motors for use under Soviet conditions. An important factor of the tests was that the Diesel motors built in Soviet factories showed themselves able to stand comparison with the best Diesel motors produced abroad. The chassis of the lorries engaged in the competition gave evidence of the fine work now being turned out in Soviet motor-body building.

The Moscow Underground Railway

A few days ago a party of American engineers and industrialists led by the American Consul in Moscow visited the workings of the Moscow underground railway, where the committee of experts is already engaged on its examination of the tunnel before finally approving the work. Seven kilometres of tunnelling have already been completed and work has already begun on the installation of the electric lighting system and the laying of the rails. The committee of experts is highly satisfied with the result of its tests up to the moment.

The work on the line is proceeding at an accelerating pace. In May an average of 0.75 metres a day were dug, in June the average had risen to 1.5 metres, in July it had risen to 1.7 metres, and in August it is 3 metres. In the three best days in August up to the present 9.18 metres were completed. On October 15 a trial run will take place over the first completed stretch of the line.

New Progress in the Chemical Industry

The cracking works (oil refinery) in Saratov has now set up its third and fourth big machines. The assembling of these two machines was carried out in a third of the time taken to assemble the first two. All the machinery connected with the works, including the highly complicated controlling and measuring instruments, was made in Soviet factories.

In Krasnouralsk a new sulphur factory has just been opened. The first section of the factory is already at work and the first supplies of sulphur have already left the works.

Book Reviews

The Merchants of Death

By John Cadmus (New York)

Poison Gas and the Coming War, by Donald Cameron. International Pamphlets, N.Y. 23 pages. 5 cents.

The Air Menace and the Answer, by Elvira K. Fradkin. N.Y. 331 pages. Three dollars.

Merchants of Death, a Study of the International Armaments Industry, by H. C. Engelbrecht and F. C. Hanighen. N.Y., Dodd, Mead. 308 pages. \$2.50.

Arms and the Men, by the editors of *Fortune*. N.Y., Doubleday, Doran. 58 pages. 10 cents.

Workers, in whose hands alone rests the supreme and absolutely final power to block all imperialist war, should know these books. Especially those thousands and tens of thousands of workers in any way concerned with the preparation, manufacture, and shipment of munitions.

These four books, each in its own way, tells how death has also submitted to the yoke of monopoly-capital and to the techniques of mass production. All of them are packed with information of the utmost value to those engaged in the revolutionary struggle against fascism, imperialist war and the forces so ruthlessly exposed by Lenin under the term **social chauvinism**.

Donald Cameron's pamphlet is a revised and cheaper edition of his **Chemical Warfare**, published in 1930. Short as it is, and necessarily limited in the facts presented, it tells plenty. The chemical industry in the United States (despite an unexampled decline in peace time agricultural and industrial activities) is today sixth in the value of its products, and employs close on 300,000 workers. This means, according to Cameron, that the United States is now producing more chemicals than all the rest of the world combined. (In the first six months of 1934 the powerful du Pont interests alone—affiliated with I.C.I., General Motors, the I.G., Standard Oil, etc.—doubled their net operating capital: from 8 to over 17 million dollars). Sixteen sub-districts, from soap to dyestuffs and from rayon to fertilisers, can be transformed, with a minimum of time and cost, into arsenals for chemical warfare. The U.S. War Department knows the location, type, and capacity of every plant in the country, and all the necessary specifications are on hand, ready for the code-signal, "M-Day"—Mobilisation Day. Included, of course, are hundreds of drugs and anti-toxins for the use of that patriotic Red Cross which has never yet stirred a finger or moved an ambulance to aid workers gassed by police and militia along the country's 3,000-mile "strike front."

Cameron briefly describes a few of the major poison "gases" (many of them are actually liquids), their effects, and the hope-

lessness of really adequate defence against them. (Recently, Major Duchène, of the French Army, admitted that complete evacuation of a city was the only effective protection against a successful chemical attack.) And he consistently emphasises the growing use of the gas weapon in "peace-time," citing the frenzied purchase by manufacturers and industrialists of large stocks of chemicals—as "means of destruction," not production. We have seen how they have used them, in San Francisco, Portland, Minneapolis, Toledo, Birmingham, Bridgeton. And the workers are learning fast.

Miss Elvira Fradkin, author of the next book on our list, is an American, college-bred liberal, who still believes that wars may be stopped by well-meaning reforms, international control of armaments, etc. That is nonsense, of course—but her book is by no means to be ignored on that account. As a documented and factual study of the scientific, technical, economic, and political aspects of modern air and chemical warfare it is, to this reviewer's knowledge, superior to anything which has thus far appeared in English. Miss Fradkin begins by making it perfectly clear that every War Office in the world is straining to the utmost for supremacy in two things: aviation and aero-chemistry. She quotes General H. L. Gilchrist, Chief of the American Chemical Warfare Service, to the effect that "war is a branch of applied chemistry" and that, as such, it will become increasingly violent and deadly. In the last war a total of about 17,000 gas troops (all belligerents) used some 58,000,000 gas shells to cause casualties conservatively estimated at 600,000—and this was when chemical warfare was in its experimental stages.

Miss Fradkin presents, from numerous official sources, elaborate accounts of poison gases, actual and projected, methods of use, medical and military effects, and the many pathetic attempts to devise adequate protection (gas shelters and masks, disinfecting corps, public aid stations, etc.) against them. Her "conclusion" on the subject of chemical disarmament reveals again the hopeless timidity of the liberal who yearns for peace, but who is incapable of a realistic analysis of the economic background and class-nature of all international conflict.

In her chapters on Aviation and Aero-Chemistry Miss Fradkin gives much valuable information: air strengths of the different countries; the development and mounting costs of this arm of the service; civil air lines and their military possibilities. Germany, with 71 air routes, is exceeded in this respect only by the United States, which has 126 routes.) Paralleling this are the steady improvements in the technique of bombs and bombing, all of them directed against cities, with their millions of non-combatants. A few well-placed thermite bombs, followed by a dozen or so tons of chemicals formerly used in the process of making soap, dyes, fertilisers, or rayon stockings, and the "mass murder" is on—despite all the solemn conferences, agreements, warnings, appeals, and sermonisings emanating from the League of Nations and the other bourgeois "internationals" in whose good intentions and social effectiveness Miss Fradkin so naively believes.

Turning now to the widely-discussed volume by Engelbrecht and Hanighen—translations of which in French, Dutch, and Spanish are, or soon will be, available. It is a matter of record that the authors are indebted for much of their material—which is not only rich in content and well authenticated, but also intelligently assembled—to various articles on armaments and war preparations published, as far back as 1931, in *The Living Age*. Among these articles was one entitled "The Man Behind Hitler," now a part of that extraordinary document, *Hitler Over Europe*, by the anonymous Ernst Henri. Messrs. Engelbrecht and Hanighen handle their subject without gloves: their sole purpose has been to show, and to expose, the network of intrigue, chicanery, and ruthless exploitation of nationalist rivalries within which operates the so-called "Secret International" of armament makers.

A chapter on "du Pont—Patriot and Powder-Maker"—explains the origin of this famous industrial dynasty, and its systematic profiting from every war up to the last—for which it supplied 40 per cent. of the powder used by the Allies. The rise of the Colt,

Winchester and Remington companies is described, and with them the increasing dominance of America in the development and sale of small arms. The founder of the financial House of Morgan made a profit of nearly 100,000 dollars through the sale to his own country of 5,000 defective rifles—which blew off the thumbs of the soldiers. In Europe Krupp gets into the game and, aided by the Franco-Prussian War, quickly learns the tricks by which even hostile governments may be brought to his terms—including ownership of three great newspapers, systematic penetration of all important official circles, and shrewd "gentlemen's agreements" with rivals. In their analysis of the rapid expansion of the armaments industry which began with Zaharoff and soon involved practically every civilised nation on the globe, Engelbrecht and Hanighen make clear, with facts, reports, investigations, balance-sheets, etc., that this new race of death merchants—the du Ponts, Vickers, Skodas, Schneiders, Mitsuis, Hotchkisses, Hadfields, Bofors, and the rest—were not an isolated phenomenon, due to some miscarriage of human nature, but "a perfectly natural product of our present civilisation," the elimination of which "involves remaking our entire civilisation"—by what means they do not, however, say.

The fact that in 1916 the U.S. Steel Corporation "reported earnings greater by 70,000,000 dollars than the combined earnings of 1911, 1912, and 1913, and that in 1917 a stock dividend of 200 per cent. was declared by Bethlehem Steel; that during the Russo-Japanese War a tsarist agent, Raffalovich, expended millions of francs in bribing the French press; and that during the last war opposing armies were ordered not to destroy raw material and manufacturing bases of the enemy's armament industry—facts of this kind (and the book is full of them) meet the usual half-way, reformist argument as would a piece of modern armour-plate the bullet from an air-gun. Our authors recognise this, and they are full of mockery for the usual remedies: Disarmament Conferences, nationalisation of arms-making, international control of armaments, and so forth. They say: "The problem of disarmament is therefore the problem of building a new civilisation"—and completely omit all reference to the Soviet Union, where alone, despite all violence, sabotage and obstruction, this problem is actually being faced, and resolutely attacked; not in liberal fashion, from the top down, but, as the logic of revolution demands, from the bottom up.

Miss Fradkin also entirely ignores the concrete picture of an anti-war civilisation provided by the Soviet Union, thus once more illustrating the profound sterility of all—even the best-informed—liberal and bourgeois thought, the moment class interests are involved. Mass murder, as she, as Engelbrecht and Hanighen and numerous others all over the world, are diligently showing, with a terrific display of statistics, documents, "resolutions" and the like—mass murder is not only not yielding to the pressure of "public opinion" against it, but is being perfected, with all the resources at the command of the nations. And this increasing perfection is designed, not only for war, but also for peace; for the reduction of those who perform the actual work of the world to a pulp of fear, insecurity, starvation, disease and agony. Alone among the writers here mentioned, Donald Cameron clearly challenges the right of such a contradiction to exist at all; and as clearly indicates the one tactic against whose steady force not all the "Schlieffen plans" in the world would be of the least avail: Revolutionary action on the basis of mass resistance. Only where the "facts" of armament can be made to assist in this final tactic have they any real value. These facts—all of them, from whatever quarter and in whatever connection—should be known to workers everywhere, studied by them, applied by them to the building up of the same force which, under Lenin's leadership, achieved the first decision over "The Merchants of Death."

The pamphlet, *Arms and the Men*, is included here because it carries, in very much condensed form, the same material to be found in Engelbrecht and Hanighen's book. Its publishers, the magazine *Fortune*, are notorious for their worship of great wealth, but in this instance they have told, without apology and in very readable style, the worst concerning the armament makers.

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